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RADIATION

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THE FASTEST GROWING CHURCH IN THE WORLD

by Brother Keith E. L'Hommedieu, D.D.

It's quite safe to say that of all the organized religious sects on the current scene, one church in particular stands above all in its unique approach to religion. The Universal Life Church is the only organized church in the world with no traditional religious doctrine. In the words of Kirby J. Hensley, founder, "The ULC only believes in what is right, and that all people have the right to determine what beliefs are right for them, as long as they do not interfere with the rights of others."

Reverend Hensley is the leader of the worldwide Universal Life Church with a membership now exceeding 7 million ordained ministers of all religious beliefs. Reverend Hensley started the church in his garage by ordaining ministers by mail. During the 1960's, he traveled all across the country appearing at college rallies held in his honor where he would perform mass ordinations of thousands of people at a time. These new ministers were then exempt from being inducted into the armed forces during the undeclared Vietnam war.

In 1966 Reverend Hensley was fighting the establishment on another front. The IRS tried to claim the ULC wasn't a legal church and proceeded to impound the ten thousand dollars in the church bank account. The feisty Hensley filed suit against the IRS in federal district court for return of the funds and to permanently establish the ULC as a legal tax exempt entity. On March 1, 1974 Judge James F. Battin ruled against the IRS in his decision which stated, "Neither this court or any branch of this government will consider the merits or fallacies of a religion. Nor will the court praise or condemn a religion. Were the court to do so, it would impinge upon the guarantees of the First Amendment." The judge then ordered the IRS to return the impounded money and to grant the Universal Life Church its tax exempt status.

Reverend Hensley has stated that he believes a church is people and not just a fancy building. He also believes in total freedom and equality for all people. The ULC will ordain anyone without regard to religious beliefs, race, nationality, sex or age.

The ULC's success formula is both effective and unquestionably legal. After a person has become an ordained minister, he or she can join with two other people and form their own Universal Life Church. These three people then make up the Board of Directors consisting of a Pastor, a Secretary and a Treasurer. The ULC will then grant the group the use of its legal church charter complete with both federal and state tax exempt numbers. The newly formed church may then open a bank account in the church's name. Any member of the church can legally donate up to 50% of his or her outside income to the church and take a corresponding tax deduction. The church in turn can pay the complete housing cost of its minister including rent or mortgage payment, insurance, taxes, furnishings and repairs. The church can also provide the minister with full use of an automobile as well as pay for travel and educational expenses. None of these expenses are reported as income to the IRS. Recently a whole town in Hardenburg, New York became Universal Life ministers and turned their homes into religious retreats and monasteries thereby relieving themselves of property taxes, at least until the state tries to figure out what to do.

Brother L'Hommedieu is Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Sacerdotal Order of the Universal Life and serves on the Board of Directors of the International Universal Life Church, Inc.

Churches enjoy certain other tax benefits over the common man on the street. For instance, a church can legally buy and sell real estate or stocks and bonds completely tax free. It can receive tax free income from bank deposits or mortgages. Many churches own large publishing, recording, or other related businesses like hospitals, clinics and schools without paying any income tax.

A church can sponsor any kind of fund raising event such as a concert, play or even bingo. Churches are also exempt from paying inheritance taxes. When the pastor of the church dies, the Board of Directors simply appoints a new pastor and the church goes on.

Reverend Hensley has stated that he personally doesn't believe in the tax exempt status of churches. However, if the government is going to give a free ride to Billy Graham and the Pope, then why not let everybody participate in these blessings. Furthermore, he backs his words up by offering to defend in court the tax exempt status of his congregations.

Since the church was founded in 1962, it has attracted members who are movie and TV personalities, businessmen, government officials, lawyers, and doctors as well as all types of regular working people. During the last 15 years the Universal Life church has blossomed into a full blown grass roots populace movement. Reverend Hensley is ordaining ten thousand new ministers a week and predicts that the church will have over 20,000,000 members by the early 1980's. In addition, requests for interviews and TV appearances continue to pour in.

Anyone who is a member of the ULC will tell you that the ULC is destined to change the world. By unifying mankind into a brotherhood of freedom orientated individuals, each respecting the other's right to live life as they see fit, the Universal Life Church hopes to put an end to all wars. Reverend Hensley admits that this is a pretty monumental task to accomplish, but he also points out that he is already well on the way to reaching his goal.

Rev. Hensley invites all those interested in becoming an ordained minister and receiving complete information and Minister's Credentials, to send a $10.00 tax deductible donation to the Universal Life Church, 1335 Seabright Ave., Dept. **803**, Santa Cruz, CA 95060

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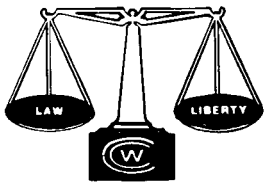

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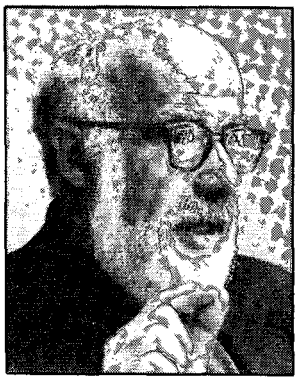

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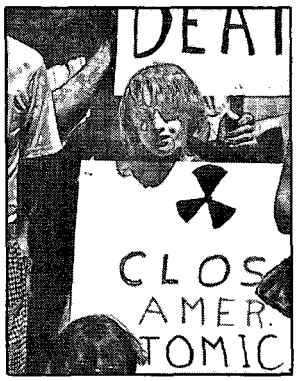

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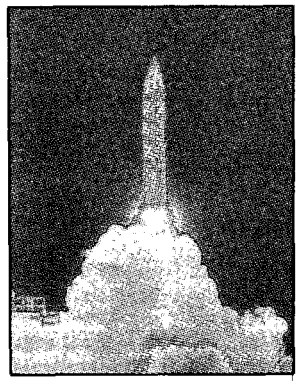

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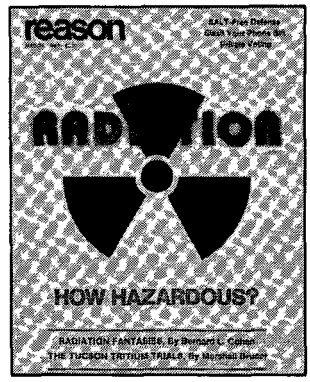

Cover by Nanette Boyer

RADIATION FANTASIES
With a full nuclear power program in the United States, there might be how many extra radiation-caused deaths per year? a) *None* b) *20* c) *32,000* d) *200,000* e) *An unknown number. A nuclear physicist explains the answer.*
By Bernard L. Cohen **24**

THE TUCSON TRITIUM TRIALS
Tritium is a radioactive killer—or so they thought in Tucson. But they didn't have their facts straight, and the loser was a small business hounded to death by government bureaucrats and the press.
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SALT-FREE DEFENSE
True defense *of the United States shouldn't involve a build-up of offensive weaponry. But that's precisely what the SALT treaties commit us to, says a US congressman.*
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SLASH YOUR PHONE BILL
Entrepreneurs have stepped into the communications market, offering a service that can cut the cost of long-distance calls.
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BACK ISSUES: Write for back issue list for current prices. Volumes 1-4 are available on microfilm from University of Southern California Library Micrographics Dept., University Park, Los Angeles, CA 90007. Volumes 5 and up are available from Xerox University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life.*

editor's notes

• **TREATY FOLLOW-UP.** Those agreeing with our editorial against the Moon Treaty (Jan.) will be heartened by several recent developments. The leading Democrat and Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Senators Church and Javits, respectively) have sent a strongly worded letter to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance asking the US delegation to vote to return the treaty to the UN Outer Space Committee. And Rep. Larry Winn, ranking minority member of the Science and Technology Committee, has come out against the treaty. A congressional seminar held by the University of Maryland in December presented both sides of the issue. And write-ups of the growing opposition to the treaty have appeared in *Science*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *New York Times*, and the *Washington Post.*

• **CONTEST.** The American Bar Association's 1980 Ross Essay contest will be on the subject of "regulatory reform." Contestants are free to focus on any aspect of this subject, for up to 5,000 words. To enter, however, you must be a member of the ABA (including its Law Student Division). The prize is $5,000. Entry forms are available from the *ABA Journal*, 77 S. Wacker Dr., Chicago, IL 60606. The deadline is April 1.

• **SYMPOSIUM.** Readers may be interested to learn that a symposium on the work of contributing editor Thomas Szasz will take place April 17-19. It is sponsored by the Institute for Humanistic Studies of the State University of New York at Albany. Further information is available from Prof. M. E. Grenander, the center's director (SUNY, Albany, NY 12222).

• **LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOOK.** Editor Robert Poole's book on privatization of local government services is due out in March. Called *Cutting Back City Hall*, the book carries an introduction by former Treasury secretary William E. Simon and endorsements by, among others, Karl Hess and NTU chairman Jim Davidson. The publisher is Universe Books (whose most notable earlier book was the Club of Rome report, *The Limits to Growth*), and the price will be $12.50. Poole will be available for speaking engagements in connection with the book's introduction this spring.

• **NOTORIETY.** Two REASON contributors have been in the media recently. Frequent contributor John McClaughry had the cover story in the December 21 *National Review:* "Uncle Sam's War on the Independent Contractor." And his congressional testimony on the irrelevance of federal subsidies for wood-burning stoves appeared in the December 11 *Wall Street Journal.* Author Robert Ringer (Sept.) has come in for some harsh (and unwarranted) criticism —by William J. Bennett in the December *Commentary* and by Richard Reeves in the December *Washington Monthly*. But such attacks cannot seem to dislodge Ringer's book from its place in the top 10 non-fiction bestsellers, where it remained at year end.

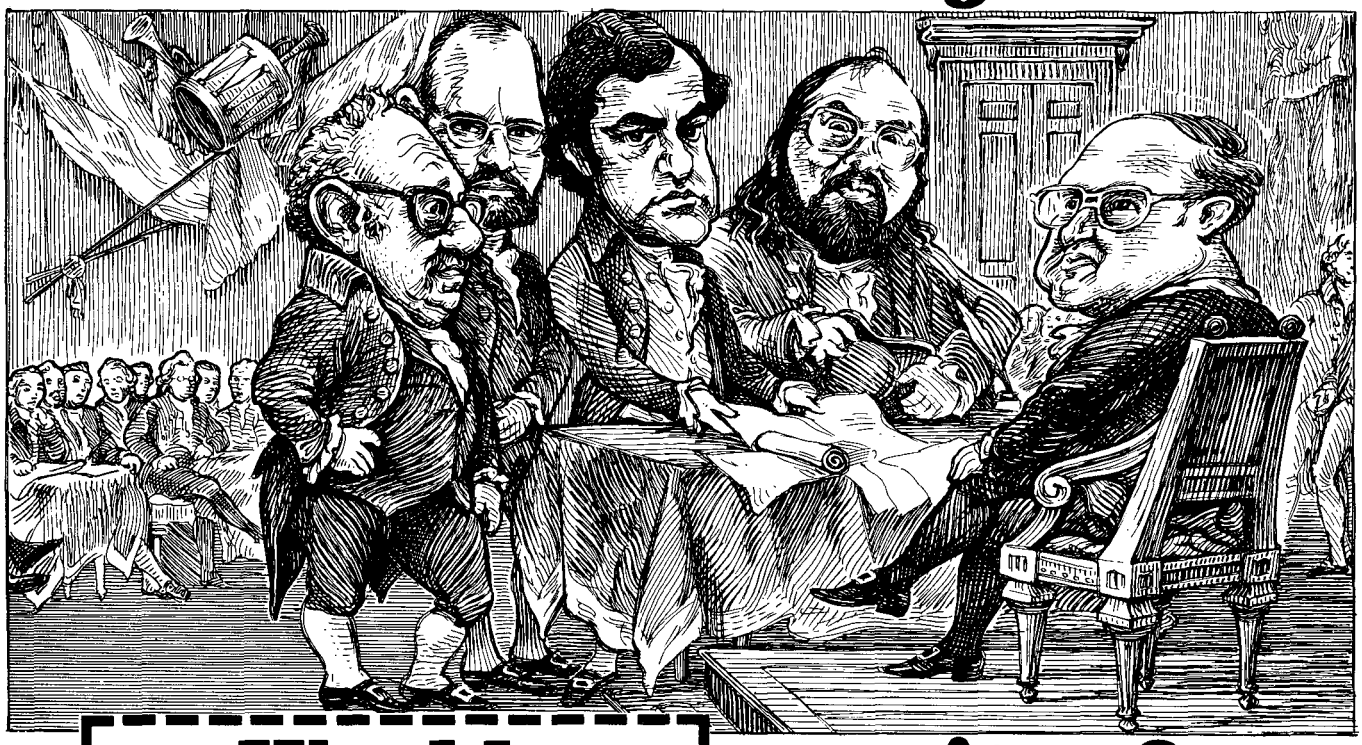
• **SPANISH EXPOSÉ.** Our November article on the UFW is now available in a Spanish-translation reprint (50 cents each, with quantity discounts).

• **NEW PUBLICATION.** Readers may be interested to learn of the existence of *The Intellectual Activist*, a newsletter "in defense of individual rights." Its editorial board consists of economists George Reisman and Henry Hazlitt, historian Robert Hessen, and engineer Petr Beckmann. Editor Peter Schwartz declares, "What we are fighting are not simply bad laws but bad *ideas*. To succeed we have to articulate better ideas, ideas that can be defended by appeals not to tradition or to faith, but to facts and to logic." The newsletter aims to provide intellectual ammunition to assist people in discussing the issues, writing editorial replies and letters to the editor, testifying at hearings, etc. The first issue, dated October 1, included a piece on broadcast deregulation and a reply to Jimmy Carter's concerns about a crisis of confidence in America. Subscriptions are $33 a year for 22 issues. *The Intellectual Activist*, 175 Fifth Avenue, Suite 1019-R, New York, NY 10010.

• **COMPLAINTS?** Upset about how your federal tax dollars are being used? The feds now have a toll-free hotline for those who wish to report abuse, misuse of position or funds, or fraud in connection with federal money, property, or jobs. Call (800) 424-5454.

—R. P.

Suppose you were given the opportunity to meet and talk with the Founding Fathers.



Left to Right: Murray Rothbard, Israel Kirzner, Earl Ravenal, Roy Childs, and Leonard Liggio.

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Well, the Founding Fathers of the future—Murray Rothbard, Leonard Liggio, Earl Ravenal, Israel Kirzner, and Roy Childs—are waiting to meet and exchange ideas with you—and these are only some of the well-known, articulate thinkers who are being gathered together by the Cato Institute to provide what could be the most intellectually stimulating week of your life.

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The Cato Institute is sponsoring two Seminars in Political Economy during the summer of 1980. An eastern conference will be held at picturesque Dartmouth College from June 28 through July 5. A western conference will be held at Stanford University July 19-26. The entire cost for each conference is only $275. And if you are a student, the cost is even less: $95 will pay for everything! There are even a few travel scholarships available.

So send in the coupon today and reserve your chance to meet the people who could change your life.

Post-Afghanistan Foreign Policy

editorial

THE DECADE HAS DAWNED with a brutal Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. With planes, tanks, 90,000 troops, and a hand-picked dictator, the Soviets are proceeding to occupy and subdue the country, despite the valiant resistance of "rebel" groups who had been on the verge of ousting the previous Communist regime.

Whatever else the invasion does, it should put to rest the naive notion of the USSR as a basically peaceful State whose foreign policy is characterized by defense of its territory and traditional sphere of interest. We have given this revisionist view the benefit of the doubt throughout the past decade—in the face of accumulating evidence for a contrary view, namely (1) the unprecedented Soviet arms build-up and (2) the increasingly bold use of Cuban troops as proxies to carry out Soviet aims in various parts of the globe. But surely *now* the myth of "peace-loving, defensive" Soviet foreign policy can be consigned to the dustbin of history.

Does recognition of that reality require a return to the Cold War? Certainly that is what many prominent people, both conservative and liberal, seem to be urging. Yet a knee-jerk return to being policeman of the world, to supporting any dictator who claims to be anticommunist, to manipulating the internal policies of other countries to prop up or install "pro-American" leaders without popular support, is not an appropriate policy for a country professing a commitment to freedom.

The purpose of the US government is to protect and preserve the rights of Americans. In foreign relations this means that it must defend the United States and its citizens against aggressors. It is expressly not the role of our government to save the world for democracy or liberty, however worthy these causes are. That task would amount to usurping its foremost duty and is impossible, to boot.

Where the real problem occurs, however, is in defining precisely what constitutes a legitimate defensive foreign policy. It will simply not suffice to say—as some libertarians are wont to do—that noninterventionism means *no* military alliances, *no* overseas bases, *no* actions outside US borders. While satisfyingly straightforward and seemingly principled, this view simply ignores the complexity of power relationships that exist in a world of armed-to-the-teeth superpowers.

What, then, can a libertarian perspective predicated on realistic defense in today's world suggest? While a complete analysis is obviously beyond the scope of an editorial, several guidelines can be drawn.

First, as discussed on this page last month, a basic need is to maintain an adequate strategic capability so as to remain invulnerable to Soviet nuclear blackmail. This should be accomplished in the short term by maintaining and modernizing existing nuclear deterrent forces while sparing no effort to develop true defenses against ballistic missiles for the longer term.

Second, as part of the recognition that it is *tax money* that is (at least for the foreseeable future) paying for defense, we must insist that American citizens cease being taxed to pay for the defense of our wealthy European and Asian allies.

Third, the US government should stop playing Mr. Nice Guy in the face of naked Soviet aggression. How much willingness to stand up to the Soviets or their proxies can we expect the Pakistanis or the Yemenis or the Angolans to display when the US government treats the Soviets as just another government? What possible justification can there be for our government providing credit, insurance, and other subsidies to short-sighted firms to sell grain, trucks, and computers to the Soviets? And what an obscenity it would be to go forward with the Moscow Olympics as if blood were not flowing in the streets of Kabul! The government should use every diplomatic and propaganda means at its disposal to isolate the Soviets from the community of civilized people—not just for a few months, as Jimmy Carter is now attempting, but for as long as the Soviets continue their overseas aggression and subversion (by proxy or otherwise).

Beyond these means, are there any other actions or policies that legitimately constitute defense—without becoming self-defeating entanglements in other people's quarrels? Such moves generally must be developed on a case-by-case basis, depending on knowledge of the particular, shifting power relationships in different parts of the world. One cannot simply assert that a Soviet takeover of Afghanistan—or of Iran or Pakistan, for that matter—threatens the security of the United States. Such connections must be *demonstrated*, and some feasible means of influencing the situation must exist, before military action of any sort would ever be justified.

Then, too, there are many means short of military action that can contribute to a legitimate defense policy. Where genuine groups of freedom fighters exist, in opposition to a regime that is a threat to the United States, it is perfectly legitimate to come to their aid—diplomatically; by allowing them to purchase weapons; perhaps even by *giving* them weapons. Whether the Afghan rebels constitute such a group depends on the larger question whether the prevention of a Soviet takeover could be shown to be a component of defending the United States.

Lastly, though military alliances have earned a bad name and are fraught with the risk of entanglements, there is no reason to reject them categorically. Carefully entered into, for limited time periods and with no commitment to support in any way the domestic policies of the other parties, such alliances can play a role in curbing the aggressive tendencies of governments like the Soviet Union's. Right now some sort of limited tactical alliance with the Chinese government certainly seems worth looking into.

All this is a nasty business, in which formula thinking is dangerous. If the isolationism of "fortress America" would suffice to defend this country and promote peace, we'd embrace it unhesitantly. But, sad to say, the world has changed drastically since two oceans provided America's real security. The challenge of the '80s—for libertarians and other advocates of freedom—is to figure out and implement a defense policy that is in accord with the harsh realities of a world in which other governments care not a whit for liberty and show it with brute force.

Robert Poole, Jr.

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To the Investor Who Won't Settle for Average Returns

You know that inflation and taxes mean you have to get exceptional returns to enjoy real growth. You may not know that one of your best bets for getting high returns is also one of the easiest and least risky.

by Thurman L. Smith

We may never have met but I think I'm safe in assuming that we share this common goal:

We want to steadily increase our wealth by investing in ways that will make our money truly grow over the years. And we both want returns from our investments that are high enough to provide meaningful growth.

Today this goal is a real challenge. The level of inflation is so high that returns usually thought of as substantial aren't high enough to really leave anything for the investor. Taxes further diminish our real returns.

Most investors today must get gross returns of at least 20% to actually make any money. For the only return that counts is the net *real* return after taxes and inflation.

Now there are ways to get returns this high. Unfortunately most of them involve a high level of risk. Or they require some extra effort. Such as with real estate. Or running some sort of side business. Or searching for attractive stocks and watching them closely.

The Ultimate Inflation Hedge

Now I can think of more enjoyable things to do in my spare time than worry about and spend excessive time in managing my investments. I'm sure you can too.

I would like to tell you about a way to invest that has succeeded in providing the high returns we need but which is remarkably low in risk and easy to carry out. It's quite simply, for the level of risk and effort involved, the most effective way there is for the individual to really build wealth in these difficult times.

Now I didn't exactly invent this approach. But several years ago I began an extensive search for a proven but practical way to keep ahead of inflation. I knew from graduate study in finance just how much the odds are against the individual in the stock market. And I knew from my association with investment management firms that the 'pros' don't often do so well either. It was quite exciting to discover that there was a proven, practical way to beat inflation. I would like to share with you the results of my experience with this approach.

This approach is equally effective for small and large investors. The only real requirement is a willingness to find out how it works and modest amount of patience. For it is a plan for long-term growth not a get-rich-quick scheme.

This is what it has done for others and can do for you.

Provides Real Returns

As you probably know returns from stock market averages over the past decade have been virtually nil. Yet tests of this method have shown that it has provided investors with average returns of over 20% during this period. We must be doing something right!

There are sound reasons for this outstanding performance:

- The method doesn't rely on investment fads. No speculation in real estate, gold or over-priced stocks. Just solid investment in real economic growth through optimum use of an ideal investment vehicle.
- These vehicles are designed to provide substantial appreciation during periods of generally rising stock prices.
- By choosing only the vehicles with the best performance records you can put some of the best investment talent there is to work for you.
- This talent is really free because these proven managers will likely provide you with a greater return than you could manage on your own. And there are no commission to buy or sell these vehicles (say goodbye to your broker).
- A proven strategy is used to be in growth vehicles only during favorable market conditions and to be in safe high-yielding cash havens during unfavorable market conditions. The result of this strategy is an overall average return that is far superior to what most investors get over the long run.

Keeps Risk Levels Low

There are several reasons why the investor using this system assumes far less risk than most other investors seeking substantial growth. Here are a few.

- As mentioned above the strategy used will prevent steep losses by getting the investor out of a declining market.
- The combination of fully diversified vehicle and trading strategy mean substantially less overall volatility than the stock market.
- The vehicles used are fully liquid; it's nice to be able to unload an asset when you want to.

Requires Hardly Any Time

It would be hard indeed to imagine any way to invest that takes less time.

- Those who use it often go for years without really doing anything. When some action is required it takes but minutes by phone or mail.
- The information needed to select the best vehicle and make the right timing decisions is readily available from specialized low-cost advisory services. A few minutes reading each month is all it takes to keep posted.
- The vehicles used offer more conveniences than any other kind of medium. Such as automatic re-investment of dividends to enjoy the accelerated effects of compounding. Or automatic payouts for cash needs. They can be used for tax-deferred retirement plans too.
- There is no record keeping to do. Regular statements provide a history of transactions.

Puts the Odds on Your Side

Of course no one can make any guarantees when it comes to investing. But this method has worked so well because it is a soundly based, scientific way to put the odds on your side. The odds are with you because your money is in the best possible place at all times. You know what the best places are because you will have learned from a source I will mention soon just how this system works. And because you will keep up-to-date with a good advisory service.

Is there any easier way to do it? I really don't think you'll find one. Why not let others work for you. Why let inflation keep you from enjoying real growth any longer. Resolve today to really help yourself now and for years to come.

How to Get Started

One reason why comparatively few investors are aware of this winning method is that until now there hasn't been any single source of information on it. This need is now satisfied with my recently published book which I couldn't resist calling ***The Lazy Investor's Way to Beat Inflation***. It is a complete guide that explains exactly how to start and carry out this best of all ways to build real wealth.

In my book you will find such topics as how to—

- Select the most promising vehicles
- Carry out an easy-to-use trading strategy
- Find and use the best advisory services
- Get the highest yields from cash havens
- Take simple measures to reduce risk
- Minimize taxes on gains and dividends
- Free cash for additional investing

The book has all the facts, references, names and addresses you'll need. And it explains fully the theory behind the system. You'll learn why inflation has become such a problem and why it isn't likely to go away soon. It will show you just why the odds are stacked against the individual trying to invest directly in stocks. And it explains the dangers and disadvantages of currently popular inflation hedges.

This book could be the beginning of some really good times for you. More confidence about the future as you see your wealth truly growing. Less worry about losing money from chancy ventures. More leisure to do the things you really enjoy doing.

If you are serious about building your nest egg (or keeping the one you already have from shrinking) you should give yourself an opportunity to look closely at what it has to say.

My Guarantee

I would like to give you that opportunity. I am offering ***The Lazy Investor's Way to Beat Inflation*** on this no-risk basis: Order a copy today. Review it carefully. If you don't think the program outlined in it is as promising as I have described it, then simply return the book within two weeks for a full refund. No explanation necessary.

Several years from now you'll probably look back and consider the mere $9 you paid for this book to be one of the best investments you ever made. *But you'll never know unless you give yourself an opportunity to check it out!* As I can't guarantee that you will see this ad again I suggest strongly that you order now.

To get your no-risk copy simply write the words "Beat Inflation" on any piece of paper and send it with your check for $9 to me—Thurman Smith, 213 Commonwealth Ave., Rm 9B, Boston, Mass. 02116.

letters

Solar Corrections

In general, my article "Solar Myths and Solar Facts" (Jan.) was well edited, but there are some places where correct statements have been changed to wrong ones. At the end of page 25 my original "There would be formidable problems simply obtaining the 240 volts AC that most 150-ampere households have now in three-wire systems" has been changed to read: "It is even far beyond the present state of the art simply to obtain the 240 volts AC that most 150-ampere households have now in three-wire systems."

It is by no means even "beyond" the state of the art, let alone "far beyond" to do this. It's just expensive and not very reliable.

The other point is the addition of the solar costs including the 55 percent tax credit. I don't think the numbers are correct. First of all, this is a credit only when one has state income tax to pay, which for a lot of people is rather negligible, at least compared to the federal tax. But aside from that (the carry-forward provisions beyond 1981 might make the credit realizable), I get the following result:

Assuming *no federal credit* to subtract from the state credit, 0.55 x $3,500 is a $1,925 credit. This is realized, however, when the next return is filed and when the state accepts it. So I assume that there will be one year of 12% interest on the full amount, or $3,920, from which we get to deduct only the $1,925, leaving $1,995 as the actual cost to be financed over the remaining 9 years. The 9-year cost of capital is thus $3,537. The total comes out $5,707 rather than $4,974, making solar still the more expensive alternative over propane.

Actually, it is probably academic anyway, since one must in practice install *both* systems in order to have back-up hot water for those several days in a row of no sun. Most county building codes do in fact require the back-up system, where the subject is addressed at all.

But other than that the edited article reads very well.

R. W. Johnson
Ben Lomond, CA

Plugging into Solar

Congratulations are due to R. W. Johnson for his first-class exposé [Jan.] on the solar energy mythology that is currently in vogue. Having been involved in solar energy research for several years, I can testify in support of many of his arguments, as can most of the academic professionals with whom I have worked.

Today's "sun-worshippers" should be openly condemned for the cruel hoax which they are attempting to perpetrate on the people. Unfortunately, we do not yet have the technology to extract static charges from the air à la John Galt, nor can we economically "plug into solar" at this point in time.

It is equally ridiculous to suggest that solar energy is necessarily "safe." In this respect, many of the current approaches to solar cell design, application, and manufacture present significant ob-

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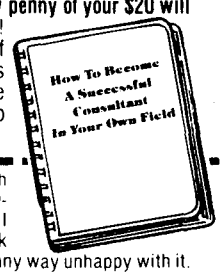

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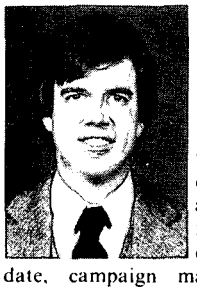
WHO IS MICHAEL EMERLING?



Libertarian activist. Libertarian writer. Libertarian motivator. All these terms describe Michael Emerling.

Michael possesses a truly awesome amount of political knowledge and experience, gained from involvement in 36 campaigns--as candidate, campaign manager and political consultant.

He founded the Tucson Libertarian Supper Club, worked with the MacBride for President campaign, and served as advisor to 12 Libertarian campaigns in Arizona, Nevada and California.

When he ran as Libertarian candidate for Congress against Arizona's Morris Udall, Michael received 5,000 votes on a bare-bones budget of $1,000.

As speechwriter and ghostwriter for 26 political candidates, Michael has written 109 articles and speeches. His provocative essays

in libertarian movement publications ("How to Get Converts Left and Right" in *Reason* and "The Late Great, Libertarian Macho Flash" in *Frontlines*) have stirred a storm of controversy and become underground best-sellers.

Currently, Michael is working on his forthcoming book, *The Art of Political Persuasion.*

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- Marketing libertarianism *left* and *right.*
- How to generate enthusiasm in yourself and others.
- Why effective *listening* is the key to effective persuasion.
- How to read "body language."
- The eight deadly, self-defeating mistakes libertarians make when communicating with others--and how to avoid them.
- Why it's better to "seduce" than debate.
- Why your *choice of words* is critical in turning people on--or off--to libertarianism.
- How to overcome inhibitions and become totally self-confident.

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- How to become a stunningly effective speaker.
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"A stupendous tour-de-force! Michael Emerling has more drive, energy and enthusiasm than anyone I have ever met. *The Art of Political Persuasion* workship lifted me ten feet off the ground."

Paul Wakfer, former chair, Libertarian Party of Canada

"The marathon sharpened my persuasive skills. It made me more confident that libertarian ideas and politics are valuable."

Ed Clark, 1980 Libertarian Party presidential candidate

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stacles which must be overcome before cost-effective utilization can develop.

Without question, solar energy of some kind has a place in our present and in our future. Decisions regarding how, what kind, and where are best resolved through the rigors of the marketplace.

In the interim, it is sheer fantasy to suggest that the electricity generated by photovoltaics will be able to match the current density in the three-pole transformer of a nuclear plant in the foreseeable future.

Christopher Witzky
New Fairfield, CT

New View of UFW

"Who's Bankrolling the UFW?" by Patty Newman (Nov.) is an excellent article. It was shocking news to me—and probably to many other readers who have no way of knowing about such activities. All we see of Cesar Chavez and his UFW is what we see on TV.

I think it deserves wider readership. Why don't you bring it to the attention of "60 Minutes?" They could do a TV show about this and get it to the attention of millions of viewers.

Patty Newman deserves great credit for her efforts to get this information into print.

Dorothea H. Webber
Denver, CO

Sell Nevada Against Inflation

David Stevens of Enon, Ohio, speaks against the budget-balancing amendment to the Constitution [Letters, Dec.]. He claims that the Fed can still buy corporate paper to put us into inflation. He misses the point.

Your congressman votes for deficits. The Treasury has to borrow to pay the bills. It drains the money market, pushing up interest rates. This would cause unemployment, depression, as private job-makers are driven out to let the Treasury fill its requirements.

The Federal Reserve replenishes the supply by buying federal obligations. It has no money to buy with so it prints what it needs, issuing credit on the government's dishonored credit.

Without deficits, in a balanced budget, there is no reason for the Fed to buy any paper. In fact it is irrational to suppose that it would. Thus no inflation.

Consider this proposal: Work to force the federal government to sell enough of its property to balance the budget in any year. We'd halt inflation, which destroys 10 times the amount of deficit. The western states, looking toward freeing federally owned lands, should support the idea. It has some problems, but none as bad as the tenfold destruction without a balanced budget.

Thomas S. Booz
Plantation, FL

Clint Eastwood, Libertarian

Regarding the movie "Escape from Alcatraz," [Movies, Dec.] I would like to make some comments. I consider this movie to make two important libertarian points. First of all, the character Eastwood plays is quite competent at controlling his own fate. Secondly, he primarily uses his brains to do so.

I think many of Eastwood's characters show libertarian traits. Considering the lack of libertarian ideas in Hollywood films, Clint deserves a few points.

John P. Wagner
Galion, OH

Nongovernment Inquiries

I have mixed feelings about Murray Rothbard's disavowal of issues for libertarians other than government [Viewpoint, Dec.]. On the one hand, I am just as opposed as Rothbard is to having a single position on matters of culture or lifestyle defined as *the* Correct Libertarian View. On the other hand, it seems to me that there are issues of this kind with which libertarians should concern themselves, simply for the sake of liberty.

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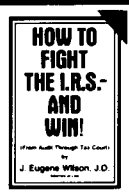
Atlanta attorney



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In the first place, there are many institutions, practices, and beliefs which depend on the intervention of the State (or on other forms of force) to support them. Take away that intervention, and they would disappear, or at least become less common. This does not just mean the organization of businesses and labor unions. Present law only recognizes one type of marriage relationship, one in which a single woman gives a single man a life interest (amounting to an easement type of property right) in her sexual and reproductive capacities, in exchange for his promise to support her. Even if such contracts could be valid under libertarian law (Rothbard rejects them in *Man, Economy, and State*), a system in which terms of marriage or other relations between sexual partners were freely negotiable would have a variety of practices very different from those now accepted. The suburban life style has been propped up artificially by zoning laws, special income tax deductions favoring homeowners against renters, government subsidy to automobile transportation, and the like. Adolescent unrest exists partly because of child-labor and minimum-wage laws denying people under 18 economic independence, statutory rape and related laws denying them sexual freedom, parental custody laws denying them the right to set up their own households at their own expense, and many other laws.... Compulsory education laws and comprehensive schooling have forced many adolescents who would be happier learning a skill through apprenticeship, or working, into schools, where they have no real challenges and must invent challenges through ritual defiance of adults, which have no meaning. Just changing these institutions would radically alter American society; yet there are many other practices which would also have to change once the State stopped forcing them on people, or subsidizing them.

Further, there are changes which would be, not products, but prerequisites of any widespread movement toward freedom. So long as people are psychologically ready to accept authoritarian morality, envy, resentment, punitiveness, and the sorts of ideological and personal mystification which the Marxists call "false consciousness," they are not likely to accept libertarian values. Indeed, most of the institutions which depend on the State for support are in turn potent supporters of the State.... Beyond this, people who are willing to let authorities, whether religious, moral, psychiatric, or familial, control their own lives, seldom have any objection to such authoritarian control being extended to other people.... Thus, the elimination of authoritarian values (through such proper means as criticism, artistic and religious expression of new values, and personal example) is almost surely a precondition of any lasting libertarianism; and this would be a radical change in American society as well.

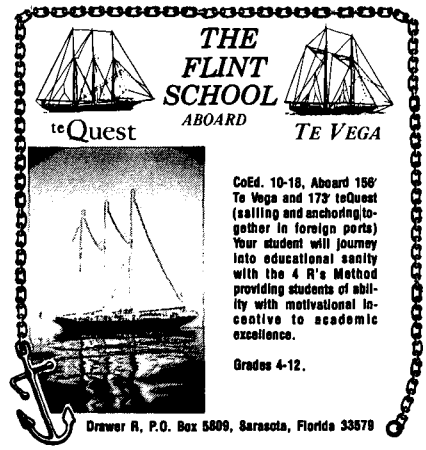
To sum up, the political system does not exist in isolation. It both affects and is affected by other parts of human existence. To change it presupposes changes elsewhere, and generates further changes. It should not be assumed that such changes would match those supported by current intellectual fashions; but serious inquiry into these issues is entirely appropriate to libertarianism—*inquiry*, not prescription.

William H. Stoddard
Chula Vista, CA

Rights Questions

In the December REASON, Alan Gewirth was reported as having said unborn children have limited rights. "If these rights conflict with those of an adult normal human being, the latter, whose capacities for purposive and voluntary action are far greater, take precedence." ("Resurrecting Rights," Jeffrey Paul). Paul thought Gewirth's analysis was "incisive" but didn't explain what Gewirth meant by "limited rights" or what are the particular rights of pregnant women and unborn children. Does libertarianism hold that some have greater rights than others? Do "less than normal" adults such as the retarded or infirm have a less than normal right not to be killed? The reader is left to wonder.

Doris Gordon
Wheaton, MD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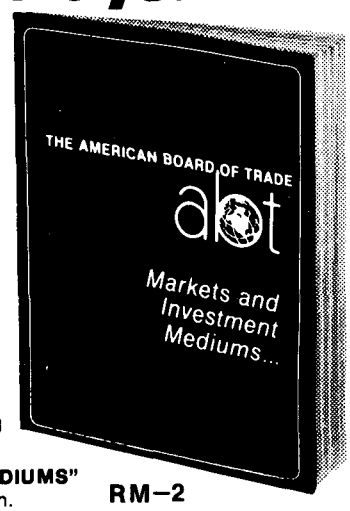

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brickbats

☐ **Soviet army units** have crushed the Afghanistan dictatorship of Hafizullah Amin and instituted the new-and-improved Marxist dictatorship of Babrak Karmal, who had been resting comfortably in a plush Moscow suburb just prior to his public mandate. So phenomenal was the Russian advance that news of the event managed to alarm even (US President) Jimmy Carter. The Washington wizard declared that the dastardly act affected his worldview more than anything since his last one-to-one chat with God, and, in UPI's estimation, "his overall opinion of the Soviet Union has changed dramatically."

Why Jimmy should bounce up and about over this latest atrocity is unknown. He showed no similar emotion over the Russians' refusal to allow emergency relief supplies to the millions of starving Cambodians (their North Vietnamese stooges have instead diverted our charitable contributions to Communist troops in combat with hold-over Khmer Rouge forces). Nor did the "human rights" crusader in the big White House even sneeze when the **Kremlin mob sent Shcharansky** and his pals up the river for long terms at hard labor. Nor, most obviously today, did our leader throw even one percent of the vitriolic moralizing he has shoveled on the Oil Monopoly when the Soviet menace performed the exact same stunt in Afghanistan in April 1978. Since the last Communist savior took over then, an estimated 25,000 human souls have been eliminated for political differences, and another 30,000 hang precariously close in what pass for Afghan jails. Yet only now does Jimmy rise and flex. Why now? The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the polls.

☐ **Yes, indeed. It's reelection time.** And Senator Teddy has found the answer President Jimmy has been searching for—national press coverage for the Massachusetts cad. While Jimmy sits in his big chair in the Oval Office screaming about Iran, Afghanistan, and all the other hot spots where we ain't gettin' no respect, the esteemed heir to the Kennedy throne has delighted all Americanos off the government dole and the jet-set party circuit by tumbling in popularity polls faster than any human since Hitler. While September surveys gave the Chappaquiddick Kid a monstrous 34-percentage-point stranglehold over the incumbent sycophant, December tallies showed him on the *losing* end of a 21-point difference. That is a record not easily to be broken. (And to think that Teddy accomplished all this by running against Billy Carter's very own brother!)

☐ **In another temporary setback** for the cause of workers' democracy, the chairman of the State Planning Commission of Vietnam has said that the successes brought by the 1979 state plan were "not very big." Le Thanh Nghi released the bad news with an eye on the ongoing encounters with Vietnam's Marxist comrades in China and Cambodia, which "caused enormous losses to our people." Also cited as incorrigible enemies, however, were "poor management and planning." In Le's words, "the effect of economic management is still low," and so yet another nation on the road to proletarian paradise will have to wait just one more five-year plan longer.

☐ **Our magnanimous federal establishment** has just extended civil service pension and health benefits to dependent illegimitate offspring of deceased and (if you can tell the difference) retired federal employees. Now, in addition to having to shell out for the bureaucrats to stick it to us, we must pick up the tab when they go out freelancing.

☐ **People are beginning to wise up** to just this relationship between the State and the citizen. Go to gay Paris, for instance, and note the stirring legal suit brought by Issa the Swede. Issa, a pro by profession, became miffed when the French government assessed her $100,000 in back (so to speak) taxes. The amount was deduced by careful mathematical formulae, "basing a prostitute's potential income on five customers a day at $25 each and figuring a 200-day working year. Issa, a single woman with no children, was put in the 60% tax bracket." So Issa's suit alleges that the government is...a pimp. "Suddenly it seemed very clear," she details. "If the government says I'm a whore and then takes my money, that's pimping, and I don't even know a pimp who'd demand this much."

☐ **And speaking of "the pimp government,"** Issa may just have to come over to America's shores to support the habits of the ambitious Department of Housing and Urban Development. President Carter has announced a massive 20 percent funding boost for HUD's subsidized housing program, up to $32 billion in taxpayers' blood for fiscal 1981. Just beyond the hoorahs of housing developers across the nation could be heard the more subtle sound of pocket calculators. The megabucks are, you see, to fund 250,000 housing units—not to actually build them, but to *help* build them (hence the word *subsidy*). But 32 billions divided by a quarter-million comes out, in the decimal number system, to $128,000 per poor-family's housing subsidy. Give *me* the money, Jimmy. I'll set up your 250,000 government shacks with plenty of change.

—Thomas Winslow Hazlett

trends

Latin Laissez-Faire

Despite their continued restrictions on civil liberties, the military regimes of Argentina and Chile have proved quite adept at restoring economic liberties to those countries. The results, in both cases, are Latin economic miracles.

In Argentina the legacy of the Peron years—nationalization of industry, high taxes, stifling regulations, huge government deficits—eventually led to an inflation rate of 1,000 percent and serious food shortages (in a country traditionally one of the major food exporters). At that point, in 1976, the military government took over, appointing Jose Martinez de Hoz as economics minister. Martinez de Hoz promptly set about eliminating exchange controls and the tax on food exports; slashing tariffs (from an average of 55 percent in 1976 to about 15 percent by next year); ending wage, price, and rent controls; and selling off nationalized firms. Some 250,000 government workers have been let go, and only 2 of the 15 major public corporations (the post office and the railroads) are still receiving partial subsidies.

The results? Inflation, though still very high, has been cut from 1,000 percent in 1976 to 400 percent in 1977, 160 percent in 1978, and 150 percent in 1979. Because the economy is booming (the GNP grew by 11.1 percent in the first half of 1979), unemployment is down to 1.5 percent. Argentines have returned millions of dollars from overseas into local banks, enabling the banks to resume making loans. And foreign investment has doubled in each of the past two years.

A similar resurgence has taken place in Chile, whose economy had been decimated by the socialist Allende regime. Under the guidance of Chilean economists trained at the University of Chicago, the government has moved unilaterally to free trade, slashing import tariffs to a low 10 percent. That move has led to major changes in industry, as inefficient producers—no longer sheltered by high tariff walls—either went bankrupt or shifted to other fields or methods. The government has slashed its own expenditures, reducing them from 40 percent of GNP to 25 percent. The budget deficit has been eliminated and a host of controls and regulations repealed.

Chilean inflation, accordingly, has been slashed from 350 percent in 1975 to about 35 percent in 1979. The GNP has increased by an average of seven percent a year for the past three years, productivity has been increasing at over 10 percent a year, and foreign exchange reserves are at their highest point ever. The only economic dark spot in this picture is that unemployment still exceeds 13 percent. Nonetheless, economist Milton Friedman, for one, predicts that the reconstruction of the Chilean economy "will be regarded as one of the economic miracles of the 20th century."

Jitney Comeback?

The jitney, a private car operating on regular routes for a flat fare, is on the verge of making a comeback in America—and all because of the energy crisis. That's the view of two analysts at Resources for the Future, Milton Russell and Joel Darmstadter, as expressed in a recent RFF report, *Energy in America's Future: The Choices before Us.*

Until they were outlawed in the 1920s at the behest of trolley interests, hundreds of jitneys plied the streets of every major city, offering low-cost, flexible transportation. Even today illegal jitneys thrive in cities where enforcement of anti-jitney laws is lax, especially in low-income areas. By offering service less costly than taxis and more flexible than trains or buses, jitneys reduce the need for auto ownership, especially second-car ownership. And because they allow multiple ridership, jitneys transport more people on a gallon of gas than private cars do.

These points are all very logical, but jitneys remain outlawed nearly everywhere. The task, says Darmstadter, is to change the political climate that condones such special-interest legislation: "What you have to do is to convince the people of that United States that taxicab companies don't have a God-given right to make more money." At least, not at the expense of entrepreneurs who wish to hire out their cars.

Contracting Supported

In earlier Trends columns we have reported on the privatization of fire protection services in Hall County, Georgia. The commissioners of that county abolished their government fire department last March and hired Rural/Metro Fire Department, Inc., of Scottsdale, Arizona, to take its place. The private firm has been doing the job for 10 percent less than the county was spending, with second-year savings expected to be 15-16 percent.

But that second-year contract—indeed, the completion of the first-year contract—had to overcome a number of obstacles. First, the discharged county firefighters filed suit, charging that the commission's action had been unconstitutional. When that suit was dismissed, they organized a successful campaign to recall all five commissioners, meanwhile appealing the court decision. But neither move accomplished their purpose. The new commissioners refused to cancel the contract, and the Georgia supreme court last September unanimously upheld the commissioners' authority to contract for fire service.

The latest chapter took place in

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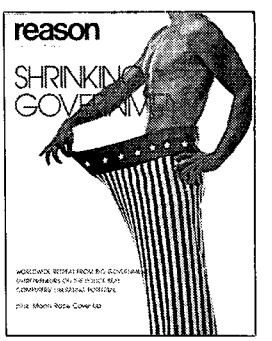

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December. In order to justify their actions, the commissioners placed a straw vote on the ballot asking if the voters approved of fire-service contracting. By a substantial 59-41 margin, the voters declared their support, whereupon the local newspaper chided the commissioners for having been so cautious. Rural/Metro president Louis A. Witzeman called the vote the firm's biggest victory in its 30-year history, proving that private-enterprise public services can win the support of the people served.

Senate Backs Private Mining

Defying so-called world opinion and the interminable Law of the Sea conferences, the US Senate has passed a bill to allow private mining of seabed mineral resources. (A similar bill passed the House in 1978 but died in the Senate.) The Senate bill would allow US firms to be licensed by the Commerce Department to prospect for manganese nodules on the seabed and would set up a mechanism for staking out claims and complying with environmental rules.

The Law of the Sea conferences, held annually over the past decade, have been attempting to set up a socialist regime for seabed mining, under the dubious proposition that the manganese nodules belong to "all mankind" rather than to the discoverer of each particular field. The conference would therefore make seabed exploitation the province of a United Nations monopoly that (in some versions) would allow limited mining by private firms, so long as the profits went largely to Third World governments. But political squabbling has thus far prevented any final agreement from being reached on a treaty.

The Senate bill anticipates an eventual treaty in two respects. On the one hand, it requires mining companies to deposit 0.75 percent of gross nodule-mining income in a Treasury trust fund, for possible distribution as UN royalties. On the other hand, however, it instructs US Law of the Sea negotiators not to agree to any treaty provision that would force licensed US mining firms to cease operations. Thus, the Senate is on record that it is not likely to approve any treaty that would surrender seabed control to the United Nations.

Electronic Mail Monopoly Setbacks

December was a bad month for the US Postal Service's hopes to extend its monopoly into electronic mail service. In quick succession, its chosen contractor quit in disgust and its overseer, the Postal Rate Commission, recommended an alternative plan that would break the monopoly.

The first shoe to fall was that of Western Union Telegraph Company. That firm had been picked by USPS as the private contractor to provide the communications links between 25 specially equipped post offices. (Business mailers would send certain types of computer-generated messages over local telecommunications links to the nearest of these post offices; from there, postal service computers would transmit them over Western Union lines to the receiving post office, where they would be printed out, stuffed into envelopes, and delivered by the local USPS employees.) But Western Union grew tired of bureaucratic and regulatory delays and decided, in December, to bow out.

But a more serious blow was soon to follow. Two weeks later the Postal Rate Commission gave its okay to USPS entry into electronic mail—but not as a monopoly. The commission instead proposed that any number of communications firms be free to provide connections between post offices. This, said the commission, would enhance competition, promote better and cheaper service, and maybe even resolve USPS's dispute with the Federal Communications Commission. (The FCC has asserted jurisdiction over electronic mail and has been taken to court by the postal service.) Since with freely competing carriers USPS wouldn't be "providing" the telecommunications, it would no longer be in conflict with the FCC.

Needless to say, USPS is not taking the recommendation lying down. Postmaster General William Bolger has complained that under the competitive regime proposed by the rate commission, it wouldn't be able to control the service. Some people would reply that that's precisely the point.

International Airline Deregulation

The rollback of government controls on entry, service, and pricing in the airline business has begun to extend beyond US borders. To begin with, pressure from the Civil Aeronautics Board has led every US airline but one to quit the government-sanctioned rate-setting machinery of the International Air Transport Association (IATA). About a year and a half ago the CAB issued a show-cause order arguing that participation of US airlines in cartelized pricesetting via IATA is contrary to antitrust laws. Although the CAB backed off in December under intense pressure from foreign governments, it had already accomplished its aims. All US airlines but National had quit IATA's price-fixing conference, and IATA had changed its rules to make participation in pricefixing an optional activity.

In addition, Congress this winter enacted the International Air Transportation Act, a counterpart of its 1978 deregulation act for domestic air service.

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It provides new freedom for US airlines in international service to raise and lower fares and provides for the government to suspend or revoke the permits and rates of foreign airlines whose governments place unreasonable regulations on US carriers.

And pressure for deregulation of European air service continues. Leading the attack are Britain's private airlines: Laker, British Caledonian, and Britannia, each of which has proposed new discount fares as much as 50 percent below present levels. They point out that per-mile fares in Europe are as much as double those within the United States—largely because of shared-monopoly service by mostly government-run airlines. The few independent airlines that have slashed fares are profiting handsomely. Sweden's Linjeflyg, for instance, has increased its traffic by 50 percent and made its first profit in three years by introducing off-peak and youth discount fares. Internationally, on routes where service has been deregulated by liberal new bilateral agreements, traffic has soared. (Examples: US-Belgium service up 85 percent in 1979, US-Australia service up 50 percent, US-Netherlands service up 40 percent.)

Laker and other independents are using figures of this sort to try to persuade European governments to deregulate. And failing that, Laker plans to appeal to the Common Market's executive commission, arguing that present air service is a monopoly—which is forbidden by the Treaty of Rome. It may take a few more years, but deregulation is clearly on the way in Europe, and around the world.

Second Amendment Assailed

Libertarians have always argued that the Founding Fathers meant it when they included in the Bill of Rights what became the Second Amendment: the right of people to keep and bear arms. While attempts have been made to undercut this amendment, they have been thwarted by the existence of vocal and organized defenders of the amendment.

One such group, the Second Amendment Foundation, is currently agitating against what it believes is the first law of its kind in the United States. The New Haven Board of Aldermen passed 18-to-4 an ordinance banning the sale of handguns between private individuals. Handguns can now only be bought (or sold) from *federally* licensed dealers (none of whom, the SAF alleges, sell handguns in New Haven).

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The SAF is filing suit against the city, resting its case on the Connecticut state constitution, which specifies that "every citizen has a right to bear arms in defense of himself and the state."

Left Criticizes State Monopoly

When socialists argue that certain **services should be State-run monopolies** "in the public interest," there is always the problem of *who* determines what that public interest is. France is currently providing an edifying twist to that question with leftist criticism against the radio-TV broadcast monopoly run by the center-right government.

Leftists now complain that the government is using the news for political purposes—specifically, the aggrandizement of President Valery Giscard d'Estaing—and are demanding equal time. Socialist Party leader Francois Mitterand, arrested last summer during a raid on an illegal Socialist radio station, reiterates that socialists support the **principle of State broadcast monopolies,** as long as they are run in the public interest. The difficulties of Mitterand and d'Estaing ever coming to an agreement about what is in the public interest did not seem to occur to the party leader.

The Communists are also challenging the state monopoly with a pirate radio station that broadcasts pop records and doctrine. The police succeed in jamming the broadcasts fairly frequently.

Another problem worrying French politicians is the changing technology that is making possible direct satellite television broadcasts into homes. As Sen. Jean Cluzel said in a debate in the upper house of parliament, "When a French viewer is given the choice of 20 commercial channels, will he make the effort to look for a national quality channel?"

Industrial Innovation

In 1977, a Commerce Department Report concluded that "reduction of unnecessary regulatory barriers to innovation is required" and suggested that antitrust laws be modified to permit cooperative R&D, that tax policies on capital and investment be liberalized, and that a uniform patent policy regarding patent rights to inventions from federally sponsored research be implemented. President Ford, who had commissioned the study, then ignored the results.

That was bad enough. To add insult to injury, President Carter in April 1978 ordered a massive (and costly) "Domestic Policy Review of Industrial Innovation" to be coordinated by Assistant Secretary of Commerce Jordan Baruch. It took 18 long months—and involved 28 government agencies and 500 industrial, labor, and academic leaders—to come to the conclusion that excessive and contradictory federal regulatory policy is the single greatest barrier to innovation.The policy review further seconded various conclusions from the 1977 Commerce Report and was presented to Carter with specific proposals stressing the disincentives built into federal regulations, tax policies, patent laws, and antitrust laws.

On October 31, 1979, Carter announced his industrial innovation plan based on the results of the study. The Carter plan ignores all the recommendations on tax incentives and concentrates instead, perhaps inevitably, on federal handouts. Our eminent president proposes setting up four "Generic Technology Centers" in 1981—to the tune of $6-$8 million—to be jointly funded by government and industry, with government's share progressively dropping. Not only that, we can look forward to two regional "Corporations for Innovative Development" that will each hand out loans of up to $4 million from federal largesse, with matching funds from each region. To help foster small innovative firms, the National Science Foundation is due to receive an increase in funds from $2.5 million to $12.5 million. The NSF program for joint university-industry cooperation in R&D will itself be granted an extra $20 million to distribute in 1981.

As an example of a problem created by government being where it shouldn't be in the first place, policymakers have had to wrestle with the question how to get some 30,000 patents off the ground and into the marketplace—patents that were developed with research money from the federal government. Federal policy has been that companies shouldn't get exclusive rights to market these developments because that would be unfair. Carter is now in favor of giving companies exclusive marketing rights through a uniform government patent policy that gives contractors exclusive licenses with the government maintaining march-in rights if the contractor fails to commercialize the invention. Steps will also be taken to make patents less vulnerable to court challenges.

Technological innovation, as measured by new patents, has been slipping steadily from 45,633 patents granted to Americans in 1966 (with 9,567 to non-Americans) to a mere 33,181 in 1976

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(with the number of foreign patents rocketing to 18,744). This is attributable partly to the fact that, unlike in foreign countries, almost 50 percent of American R&D is dedicated to defense-related projects, as well as to increasing red tape (one vice-president for R&D confesses to spending 90 percent of his time on present or anticipated regulations) and to general inflation, which has brought the US citizens' saving rate down from 7.5 percent in 1967 to 5.1 percent in 1977.

Recognizing that confusing and contradictory regulations further inhibit innovation, Carter's plan provides for federal agencies to write up a five-year forecast of what rules they think will be made. The cost of complying with federal regulations is now estimated to be as high as $100 billion a year and increasing.

Carter further aims to revise federal procurement policies. Present policies require that certain specific designs be bought for government use, whether or not there are cheaper, more efficient products on the market that would do the same thing. Carter proposes setting up performance standards instead of mandating specific designs.

He unfortunately ignored other recommendations, such as the proposed reduction of capital gains taxes on small businesses, which would have left innovators' money in their own pockets in the first place, rather than being funnelled into bureaucrats' salaries and expensive policy reviews.

Round Two for Jarvis

Spurred on by the overwhelming victory of Proposition 13 in 1978, Howard Jarvis has successfully managed to place on the June 1980 ballot his new initiative to cut the California income tax in half. It may sound disastrous to a bureaucracy that typically reacts in horror, but the measure would only cut $4.9 billion from a projected $23 billion 1980 tax take in California.

As to reacting in horror, the opposition has learned a little from its Prop. 13 fiasco and is proceeding more cautiously. But bureaucracy's bitterness over the public's gall in approving Prop. 13 surfaces in a comment made by a fiscal official to a *Los Angeles Times* reporter: "We talked about the dire effects of Proposition 13 and then we bailed it all out with the surplus. Now they'll vote for this and the roof will fall in," he predicted balefully.

The Jarvis initiative would also abolish property taxes on business inventories, a tax cut that was passed by the legislature late last year but that Jarvis wants to place in the less-capricious constitution. And the initiative would do the same with the new legislative indexing law, which indexes state income taxes but is up for expiration in two years.

Portugal Rights Itself

When Portugal ended half a century of dictatorship five years ago, it saw a succession of 11 elected governments of a military or socialist cast. Those governments paved the way for the country's present inflation and unemployment problems—both up to about 25 percent—and the electorate showed its discontent in the elections last December, where a record 87.5 percent of the voters went to the polls.

The antisocialist center-right Democratic Alliance won 42.2 percent of the vote, giving it a three-seat majority in the 250-seat parliament. The Socialists went down from 35 percent of the vote in 1976 to only 27 percent in 1979. (The Communists, however, picked up 5.4 percent more this time, adding to the 14.6 percent attained in 1976.) The Democratic Alliance, led by lawyer-politician, Francisco Sa Carneiro, repeated its victory in the rural parish assembly

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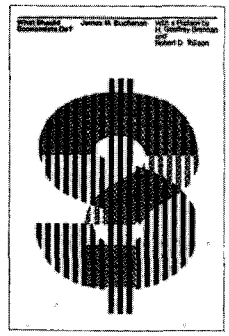

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James M. Buchanan is University Distinguished Professor and General Director of the Center for Study of Public Choice, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. As a founder of the burgeoning subdiscipline of public choice, and as a public finance theorist and father of a modern school of public finance, Buchanan's work has had worldwide recognition.

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elections two weeks later.

The new government intends to open the market to private banks in competition with its nationalized ones, to compensate businesses and individuals whose properties were seized by the State, and to repeal labor laws that prohibit employers from firing workers.

Democratic Alliance leader Sa Carneiro seems to be quite an individualist. He has openly scorned the Socialists for their willingness to compromise and formed his party in opposition to the nationalization of banks and industries. He quit his party last year when it voted to support the Socialists and returned only recently. In a country that is 90 percent Catholic, Sa Carneiro openly lives with a Swedish publishing executive and not with his Portuguese wife.

Imbalance of Payments For Defense

Because most of its leaders have adhered to the domino theory of communist takeover, America has not been shy about providing for the defense of its ever-shifting allies. Being among the richest countries in the world has contributed to its magnanimous beneficence, although now that the gas and grocery bills have become more painful, and the balance-of-payments deficit more outrageous, some people have begun questioning whether the United States should, in fact, be policing the world.

The *Washington Monthly*, for example, carried an article entitled "Make Our 'Allies' Pay" in its November 1979 issue. The thrust of the article is that there is an imbalance of economic loyalties rather than megatons; that the very countries we defend with our nuclear largesse are the countries that are competing most vigorously with our economy, such as Japan, the OPEC nations, and West Germany. The author, Vincent Wilson, notes that "West Germany, a country that borders on the Warsaw bloc, a country with a strong economy and an inflation rate last year of only 2.8 percent, recently declined to meet its commitment for increased NATO expenditures because, according to the West German defense minister, its security is not threatened." Wilson suggests furnishing our allies with a timetable within which they can begin sharing defense costs.

California Governor Jerry Brown seconded Wilson's sentiments when, in his own inimitable style, he asked, "If the Germans don't want to spend any more on their defense than they do, why should we be the suckers while they spend that money to export products to this country?" Brown said our defense money would be better spent coping with domestic energy problems and domestic investment and that a stronger economy rather than more nuclear weapons is the key to a stronger defense.

Have they been reading Libertarian presidential candidate Ed Clark's literature lately?

Taxes Spur Underground Economy

From 1964 to 1979, according to a report in the *Wall Street Journal*, the Consumer Price Index has risen about 137 percent and personal income has trotted along at its heels at 131 percent. While it may then seem that things aren't so bad, figures show that the 1964 median income for a family of four ($8,132) put that family in a tax bracket of 18 percent compared to the 21 percent now taken from the equivalent $18,815 median income of a 1979 family. The deceptive tax brackets, plus the much higher Social Security "contributions," give the 1979 family a purchasing power adjusted to inflation of $1,056 *less* than the 1964 family.

Economist Lacy Hunt estimates that a 10 percent increase in income will raise a family's federal income taxes by 16 percent and predicts that federal taxes will average past 20 percent of income after 1980. State and local taxes, meanwhile, may be less painful but are predicted to rise due to the burgeoning costs of employee pension programs for bureaucrats.

The *WSJ* article further raises questions about employee retirement programs: A 35-year-old employee who earns $10,000 a year now, is given eight percent annual raises, and retires with a retirement figure of half his projected income will end up in a much higher tax bracket then than in his working years. His retirement income will also be ravaged by inflation.

Resentment against these extortionist policies is beginning to surface. A recent survey showed that people consider 52 cents of every tax dollar that goes to the federal government a waste, an opinion that cuts across lines of party affiliation, region, age, sex, and income level. (A year ago, a comparable poll showed the perceived waste to be 48 cents.) The people surveyed indicated that they feel 29 cents of state tax dollars are a total loss, while 23 cents of local tax dollars are written off.

Almost certainly as a reaction to such evaluations, the United States possesses an increasingly healthy underground economy. Economist Peter Gutmann made waves two years ago when he placed this underground economy at 10 percent (about $176 billion) of the

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reported gross national product, but now his startling figures have been assailed as being too *conservative*.

Economist Edgar Feige claims that the underground economy is at least twice that calculated by Gutmann, accounting for 19 percent of the GNP in 1976 and for 26 percent by 1978. Feige claims that official statistics therefore understate the true growth of the economy, which he puts at 11 percent in both 1977 and 1978, and of course overstate unemployment and inflation (because prices rise more slowly underground).

If Feige is right—and we suspect he is close to the truth—then there is more reason for optimism than official figures on our economy may show.

Government Immunity Under Fire

In a *Spotlight* column on highway hazard fighter Joseph Linko last April, REASON attributed the preponderance of road hazards to "the lack of a single, responsible party operating a highway and assuming responsibility for its safety." Because governments have not had to pay for their mistakes, they have been less careful than private contractors open to suit might have been.

Well, not anymore, it seems. The California Supreme Court ruled late last year in a 4-to-3 decision that the state may be held liable for damages in accidents caused by its negligence with respect to conditions on public highways. The majority decision rejected state pleas that it could not be held responsible by noting that, in this particular case, there was sufficient evidence to conclude that dangerous conditions existed even when the driver was careful. (The case involved a 1972 suit by Dennis and Patricia Ducey after they were hit on Highway 17 near Fremont, California, by a car whose driver had lost control, crossed the median, and crashed into their car. They cited the excessive number of accidents on that particular stretch due to the lack of median barriers.)

In another court decision that may make city governments more respectful of property rights, the California Supreme Court upheld the rights of Westchester area residents in Los Angeles against that city. The surprisingly unanimous decision pointed out that when the city decided to expand the Los Angeles International Airport near an established residential area, it meant increased noise for and thus an intrusion upon those citizens. The court did not obscure the issue with arguments about property rights versus social welfare, and granted the residents an award of $86,800 in damages. The court observed that citizens should be able to assert personal rights as property owners or occupants and said, "We discern no basis for any reasoned distinction between claims for property damage and personal injury arising from the same activity and cause."

Los Angeles City Attorney Burt Pines swore to seek a review from the US Supreme Court, naturally.

Milestones

• *No Federal Bail-Outs.* The Business Roundtable recently issued a press release on the Chrysler crisis affirming the principle of "no federal bail-outs." The Roundtable did make a case for "targeted federal assistance" but went on to deplore "the costs and inefficiencies of government intervention in the economy." Well, they're getting there. Postscript: Roundtable member Chrysler

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pulled out in a huff.

• *Korean Dissent Allowed.* In the tradition of dictators everywhere, South Korea's former president Park Chung-hee issued an emergency decree back in 1975 that barred all political dissent, demonstrations, and criticism. In his first major act as president following Park's assassination, Choi Kyu-hah lifted that emergency decree last December and was expected to release political prisoners guilty of violating the decree.

• *Union Curbs in Britain.* The Conservative government's plan to restrict some union practices in England was supported in a poll of trade unionists. Proposed legislation to stop secondary picketing (picketing of firms not directly concerned in a dispute) was backed by 74 percent of those polled, while 71 percent favored State-funded secret ballots on strikes and elections. Most significant was the fact that 66 percent were in favor of limiting a union's power to coerce workers to join.

• *OSHA Exemptions.* Businesses in 49 industries with 10 or fewer employees have been granted an exemption by Congress from OSHA safety inspections retroactive to October 12, 1979, and extending to September 30, 1980. The 49 industries were selected on the basis of their safety records, while a bill now in Congress would extend the exemptions to individual companies with good safety records rather than just qualifying industries.

• *School Initiatives Flunk.* Two separate California initiatives failed to qualify for the June 1980 ballot for lack of signatures. The National Taxpayers Union's Educational Tax Credit initiative would have offset state income taxes by up to $1,200 per year for money spent on a person's education by individuals or corporations. The NTU gathered 200,000 signatures, about 300,000 short, and is currently deciding whether to try to qualify it for the next ballot (leaning toward the *yes* side). The Coons-Sugarman School Voucher Aid initiative, which would have given school vouchers to parents against state income taxes of up to $1,200 per student, would not disclose how many signatures they had attained and were pessimistic about trying again.

• *Kentucky Okays Diversity.* The Supreme Court of Kentucky held that the Kentucky Board of Education cannot compel a religious school to abide by its decrees. Similar to a recent North Carolina case (see Trends, Jan.), the Kentucky court stated that schools must comply only with health and safety requirements and that pupils may be required to take standardized achievement tests; otherwise, religious schools may do what they will.

• *Swiss Interest Rates.* In a puzzling series of moves, Swiss banking authorities first lowered the negative interest penalties on nonresident Swiss franc accounts of over 100,000 SwF from 40 percent to 10 percent and then a month later removed the penalties entirely. The amount of interest nonresident accounts can earn, while up from SwF 20,000, remains limited to the first 100,000 francs of any individual account.

• *Policing the Police.* The Supreme Court ruled 6-to-3 last November that law enforcement officers cannot search a person for merely being in a place they are authorized to search. The police can do so only by obtaining a warrant that specifically authorizes them to search all persons on the premises—which will be issued only if they can convince a judge or magistrate that there is reason to believe all such persons are violating the law.

• *White Flight Explained.* Two separate studies on "white flight" and mandatory busing, one in Los Angeles and the other in Boston, indicate strongly that court-ordered busing is opposed for "ideological" reasons. Court-ordered busing leaves people feeling they have no avenue for dissent, and therefore increases opposition significantly compared to busing ordered by a school board. The Los Angeles study further noted that, contrary to conventional thinking, families who believe school desegregation increases racial tension are less likely to flee than those who do not.

• *No Limits to Press Freedom.* Allen H. Neuharth—president of the Gannett group, which owns 80 daily newspapers, 7 television stations, and 12 radio stations—calls "the abuse and misuse of government power" the greatest danger in the world today. In his speech to the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, Neuharth reminded his audience of Thomas Jefferson's warning 200 years ago that freedom of the press cannot be limited without being lost.

• *Condominiums Can Choose.* The Florida Supreme Court ruled late last year that condominium associations can set age restrictions for residents and can prohibit children in condominiums intended for the elderly. The only restriction set by the court was that such rules must be administered uniformly.

—Robert Poole, Jr.

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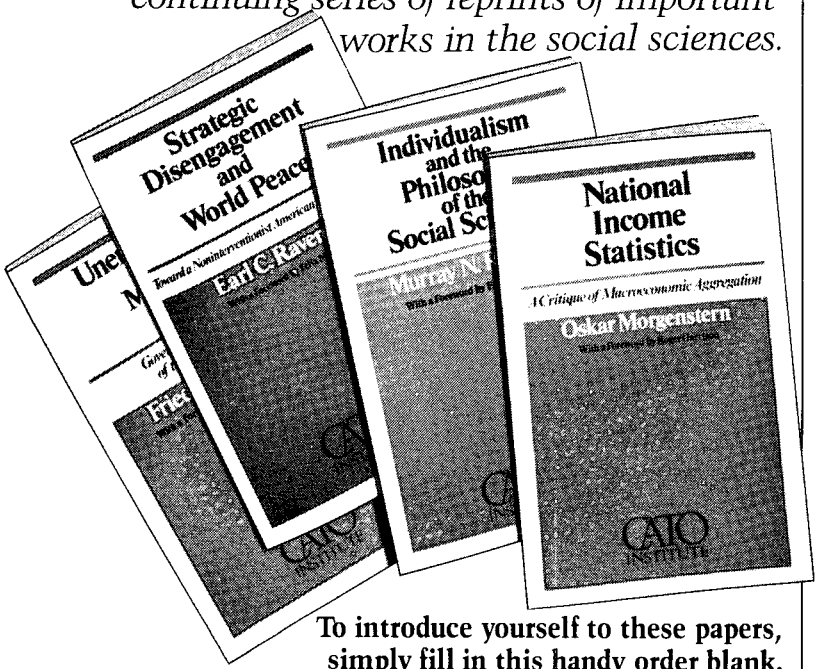
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RADIATION

Antinuclear activists have sounded the alarm over low-level radiation. A distinguished physicist separates fact from fantasy.

I find it ludicrous for anyone to claim that the required degree of containment for radioactive poisons will ever be achieved. And that opinion does not depend on the occurrence of major nuclear power plant accidents. Therefore, I am convinced that there should be no *future permitted for nuclear power.*

—John W. Gofman,
National Forum, Summer 1979

It is certain that ionizing radiation can induce cancer in humans. That is proven, even at very low doses now, by comparing the incidence of cancer among people irradiated at one dose (e.g., only by natural radiation) with people irradiated at higher doses.

—John W. Gofman,
Irrevy (1979), p. 61

The nuclear industry has been killing people every day for years in the form of cancer-leukemia deaths for the workers, and because we haven't declared the workers to be lepers, we let them procreate and thus they spread their radiation damage into the population at large.

—John W. Gofman,
testimony before California Assembly,
Apr. 1979

The decision to build and operate a nuke [nuclear power plant] is nothing less than premeditated random murder upon this and future generations.

—John W. Gofman,
Inquiry, Feb. 4, 1980.

COULD JOHN GOFMAN, AND OTHER SCIentists who count themselves antinuclear activists, be right about the effect of radiation on human health? It is, clearly, a scientific issue, but people are now well aware that scientists can be found on both sides of the nuclear fence. What they may not be so aware of is that the community of scientists concerned with radiation health has arrived at a consensus on that subject that differs markedly from the ideas promulgated by John Gofman. And in evaluating his claims it is useful to know how that consensus has come about.

Science normally progresses by scientists from all over the world doing experiments, gathering relevant information, performing analyses, and eventually publishing their results in scientific journals. In addition, they gather occasionally at meetings to present their research results, with the opportunity for questions, counterarguments, and discussion. Since science deals with measurements and calculations that can be checked in other laboratories, and since tests can ordinarily be devised to shed light on the merits of competing ideas, it is generally not difficult to develop a consensus out of these interactions—anyone participating in the process can sense it forming as time goes on.

RADIATION CONSENSUS

On scientific issues that have an important impact on society, there is the additional mechanism of prestigious evaluation committees, and nowhere are there more of these than in the field of radiation health effects. There is the National Academy of Sciences' committee on Biological Effects of Ionizing Radiation (BEIR), funded (but with no attempt at exerting influence) by the Environmental Protection Agency. There is the United Nations Scientific Committee on Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR), set up by the General Assembly in 1955. There is the International Commission on Radiological Protection (ICRP) and the US National Council on Radiation Protection and Measurements (NCRP), two independent agencies that have functioned continuously since they were set up over 50 years ago in response to problems that developed early in this century from overexposures to X-rays and to radium. (For more information on these groups, see "Scientific Radiation Committees," p. 25.) Britain has the Medical Research Council (MRC) and the National Radiological Protection Board (NRPB), and there are similar bodies in most industrialized nations of the world.

All of these groups are composed of eminent scientists in the field, with special attention to including diverse viewpoints and experiences. The BEIR Committee and the NCRP are composed entirely of American scientists, and of course the British groups are made up entirely of Britons. UNSCEAR and ICRP are truly international; UNSCEAR has a rotating leadership, with the most recent officers coming from Brazil, Belgium, Peru, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Germany, and India; and ICRP includes scientists

FANTASIES

By Bernard L. Cohen

from Canada, Sweden, Austria, France, Russia, Japan, Poland, the United States, and Britain.

All of these reputable groups continually study and update the evidence and frequently produce reports and recommendations. While there are many differences in detail among them, their estimates of health effects of radiation are generally in good agreement with one another and with the consensus of the involved scientific community.

LOW-LEVEL HYPOTHESIZING

How are these estimates of health effects derived? There have been many incidents in which appreciable numbers of people have been exposed to relatively high levels of radiation, and an increased incidence of cancer has been observed among them. There are the survivors of the A-bomb attacks on Japan; there have been several groups of patients treated with heavy doses of X-rays or of radium for various maladies; there were workers who were engaged in painting radium numerals on watch dials and who used their tongues to tip their brushes and thereby got radium into their bodies; there were miners exposed to high levels of radon gas in poorly ventilated mines; there were tuberculosis patients frequently examined by X-ray fluoroscopy, etc.

In all of these cases, we know the exposure doses in millirems (mrem; see "How **Do We Measure Radiation?", p. 28), and** the effects have been carefully studied. As a result, there is rather good information on effects of *high*-level radiation—

SCIENTIFIC RADIATION COMMITTEES

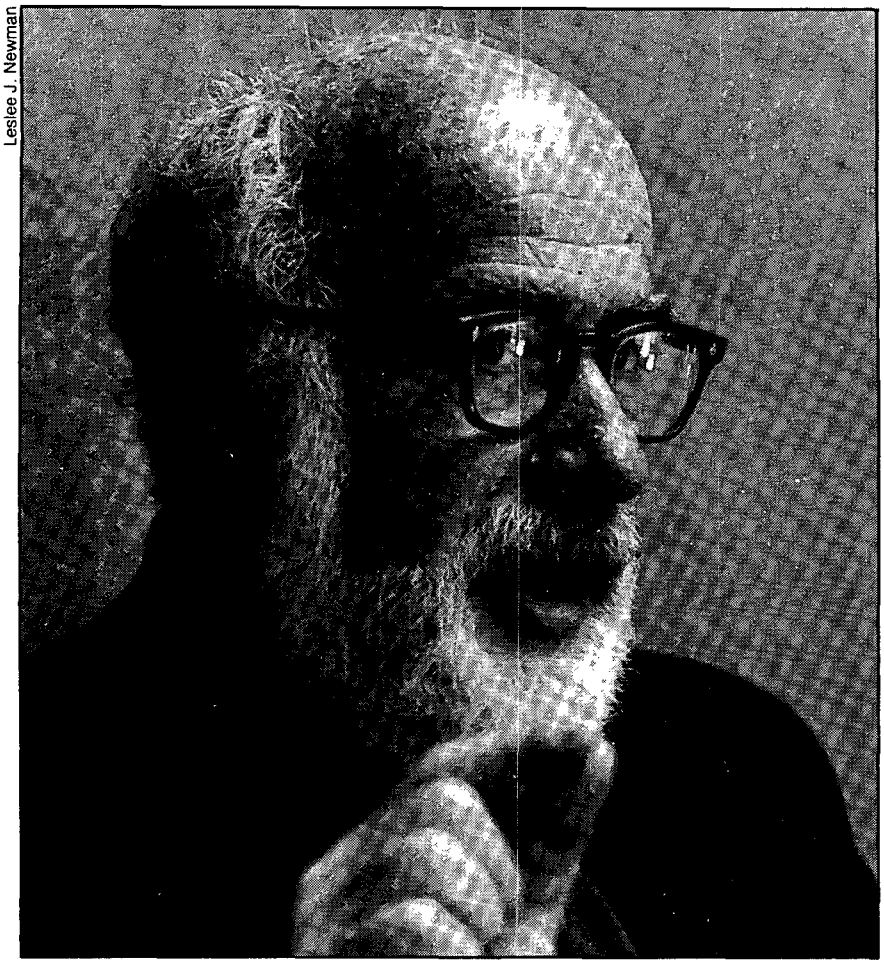
X-rays were discovered by William Roentgen in 1895. In the years that followed, the medical use of X-rays, for both diagnosis and therapy, became widespread, and knowledge of their cancer-causing and genetic effects began to accumulate. In the 1920s several agencies—the International Commission on Radiological Protection (ICRP) and, in the United States, the National Council on Radiation Protection and Measurements (NCRP)—were formed to provide guidelines for occupational exposure to radiation (for example, in the administration of radiation treatment for cancer). Both groups were made up of scientists; the ICRP, mostly of radiologists.

Following World War II, with expanding nonmilitary uses of nuclear energy on the horizon, two other groups joined the ICRP and NCRP: the National Academy of Sciences set up a Committee on the Biological Effects of Ionizing Radiation (BEIR), and the United Nations formed a Scientific Committee on the Effects of Ionizing Radiation (UNSCEAR). All of these groups are expected to review and assess the scientific literature on the effects of exposure to various levels and types of radiation and on this basis to provide guidelines for permissible exposures of the public.

When the National Council on Radiation Protection was first established, it included one member from each of the concerned professional (mostly medical) organizations, plus one member from the National Bureau of Standards. Over the years it has expanded to include 75 members serving six-year terms, with new members elected by the present council membership from nominations by various groups and individuals. In addition to council members, close to 350 other scientists serve on the NCRP committees that review studies and draft proposed recommendations that are submitted to the council. The NCRP is supported by annual membership dues and foundation and government grants.

The ICRP membership is similarly self-generating, with the original membership chosen by the International Congress of Radiology, a professional association. Members of the BEIR committee are chosen by the officers of the National Academy of Sciences, who are in turn elected by the academy's membership of about 1,000 scientists from all fields of science. UNSCEAR members are also scientists, appointed by their governments.

—M. Z.



Leslee J. Newman

JOHN GOFMAN: ***It turns out that even for containment [of plutonium] as fabulous as 99.9 percent perfect, Americans would suffer 200,000 casualities per year in a full-scale nuclear power economy.***

doses above 100,000 mrem. The question is how to use this information to estimate effects of *low*-level radiation, of exposures less than 10,000 mrem.

The usual procedure is to use the "linear hypothesis," that is, to assume that effects are proportional to radiation dose, or in other words, that the risk per unit of dose is the same for all doses. To illustrate this, roughly a million mrem give a 15 percent risk of cancer; it is then assumed that 100,000 mrem give a 1.5 percent risk; 10,000, a 0.15 percent risk; 1,000, a 0.015 percent risk; and so on. Citizens of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, received about 2 mrem from the Three Mile Island accident, so it is assumed that their risk of eventually getting cancer as a result is about 0.00003 percent (3 chances in 10 million). All of the above-named scientific groups consider this linear hypothesis to be a *conservative* approach, more likely to overestimate than to underestimate the effects of low-level radiation; that is, if anything, the risk per unit of dose is less at low dose than at high dose.

This is not just a claim meant to soothe people's fears about radiation. It is a judgment based on a wide variety of evidence. One of the more important considerations is our understanding of how radiation induces cancer. Our knowledge in this area is rather well developed and supported by extensive experimental evidence, and it indicates that low levels should be less effective than estimated from the linear hypothesis. There is also a considerable amount of direct experimental evidence on radiation-induced cancer extending to doses as low as 25,000 mrem. This evidence indicates that, if anything, the risk per unit of dose is less at low doses. There are many animal experiments, mostly on mice, that show this. The human data on Japanese A-bomb survivors and radium-dial painters give a strong indication in this direction, and no human data indicate the contrary. There is strong support from a comparison of lung cancer induced by radon among miners and in the general population. (Radon is a naturally radioactive gas to which all of us are continually exposed.) There is also evidence that the time required to develop cancer increases with decreasing dose, so that at low dose this time would be much longer than a normal lifetime. All of these matters have convinced the evaluation committees that the linear hypothesis is more likely to overestimate than to underestimate effects of low-level radiation.

One might ask why one can't get good direct evidence on effects of low-level radiation. The problem here is that, when effects are small, uncertainties in methodology can distort results and make them unreliable. For example, natural radiation is about twice the US average in Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and New Mexico; citizens of these states get about 5,000 mrem more radiation in their lifetimes than the average US citizen. Since there are millions of people involved, statistical fluctuations are no problem, so this would seem to offer an excellent opportunity for learning about the effects of 5,000 mrem. What do the statistics show? They show that cancer occurs only about 70 percent as frequently in these states as in the nation as a whole; even leukemia, the type of cancer most closely associated with high-level radiation, occurs only 80 percent as frequently.

Should we then conclude that low-level radiation *prevents* cancer? No, because cancer is basically an environmental disease, and there are many environmental agents besides radiation that cause it. Exposures to these other environmental agents vary from place to place, and these variations could easily explain the low cancer rates in the Mountain states.

UNDUE ALARM

The news media have given heavy publicity to recent studies purporting to show that low-level radiation is *more* dangerous than indicated by the linear hypothesis. The most widely publicized study is by Mancuso, Stewart, and Kneale, who looked at workers in the government's Hanford Laboratory. Their results are in clear and direct conflict with data on the Japanese A-bomb survivors. But the A-bomb data are of much better quality; in addition, there are many holes in their reasoning. There have now been at least 15 published critiques of their techniques, and their work has been considered and rejected directly by the National

BERNARD COHEN: ***Present federal regulations on plutonium handling require that no more than one part in a billion be released as airborne dust, and all plants that handle plutonium have been successfully staying within these limits for several years—this is 100,000 times better containment than Gofman assumes.***

Academy of Sciences committee (BEIR) and by the British NRPB. The ICRP has pointedly ignored it in issuing updates on radiation hazards. Yet the news media continue to publicize the Mancuso work while ignoring the critiques and rejections.

There have been a few other heavily publicized reports of work tending to enhance the importance of low-level radiation, but these have mostly collapsed. A preliminary study of workers at the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard in New Hampshire seemed to show an excess of leukemia (above the average rate for the United States), but when information on doses became available it turned out that relatively few of the victims had been exposed to *radiation*—there are many other cancer-causing agents in a shipyard environment. In testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Health, chaired by Sen. Edward Kennedy, the two doctors responsible for the report drew back from most of their conclusions. When one of them nevertheless warned about inadequate safety standards for nuclear workers, even Senator Kennedy, no friend of nuclear power, became agitated. "I don't think we ought to be alarming families unduly," he exclaimed. "We have seen you repudiate two areas of your study and the National Cancer Institute has repudiated the third."

There were heavily publicized reports of excess leukemia in Grand Junction, Colorado, where uranium mill tailings were used in construction, but it was later found that the leukemia rates were the same for those who did and did not live in houses constructed with these mill tailings. There were reports of excess cancer in the vicinity of a plutonium plant near Rocky Flats, Colorado, but plutonium causes lung cancer, and there was actually a *deficiency* of lung cancer near Rocky Flats. Reports of excess cancer among soldiers involved in a Nevada bomb test and in the population living downwind from the Nevada test site throw no light on the problem because there is no good information about doses.

Now that all the dust has settled from these reports, the radiation health community has reached a consensus, represented by the statements of its various committees, that effects of low-level radiation are no different from what they were judged to be in the early 1970s. In numerical terms, the cancer mortality risk from 1 million mrem of radiation to a person's whole body is 18 percent according to BEIR, 12 percent according to UNSCEAR, and 10 percent according to ICRP. All of these groups acknowledge uncertainties in these estimates large enough to explain the differences among them.

People often ask how we can know the effects of the Three Mile Island accident when they will not occur until many years in the future. The answer is that we have measured the radiation exposures in mrem—these have already occurred. We then use our knowledge of the risk per mrem of exposure (as given in the last paragraph) to estimate the effects that will eventually occur.

One sometimes hears that radiation from nuclear plants is somehow different from natural radiation or from X-rays, but this is not the case. There are several different types of radiation from nuclear plants, but all of them also occur in natural radiation; and when radiation doses are expressed in mrem, all types are equivalent in terms of biological damage. Indeed, that is part of the definition of **the millirem (again, see "How Do We Measure Radiation?", p. 28).**

AND GOFMAN?

What, now, can we make of the claims of Dr. John Gofman about low-level radiation from nuclear power plants? Gofman is a physician and a nuclear chemist. As a graduate student in the early 1940s he codiscovered, with Glenn Seaborg, uranium-233 and went on to demonstrate its fissionability (it is one of three substances used for making atomic bombs and fueling nuclear power plants). In 1947, with a Ph.D. in nuclear/physical chemistry and an M.D., he was appointed to the department of medical physics at the University of California at Berkeley, where he specialized in research on coronary heart disease.

From 1963 to 1969 Gofman was associate director of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory and directed the Atomic Energy Commission's new biomedical lab at Livermore. In 1969, he and a Lawrence

Livermore colleague, biophysicist Arthur Tamplin, presented a much-publicized paper critical of the AEC's (and international) standards for allowable doses of radiation, although prior to this time Gofman had made such statements as: "A public stampede due to unfounded fears can lead to political and social disaster that might outweigh tremendously even the most pessimistic assumptions concerning radiation hazards."

That same year, 1969, Gofman left his post as director of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory (he remained a research associate until 1973). He has throughout this time been a member of the UC Berkeley faculty, emeritus since 1973. He has emerged as a prominent antinuclear **spokesman and currently spends three-quarters of his time working as chairman of the San Francisco-based Committee for Nuclear Responsibility.**

HOW DO WE MEASURE RADIATION?*

Ionizing radiation produces a stream of fast-flying particles or waves that come from the nucleus of unstable atoms or man-made machines. The conventional unit of measurement of the amount of energy deposited in living tissue is the radiation absorbed dose, or *rad* (1 rad equals 100 ergs per gram of tissue).

Radiation comes in several basic types: alpha, beta, and neutron particles and gamma and X-rays. Since these vary widely in their ability to penetrate tissue and alter molecular structure through ionization, the rad is weighted for the increased biologic effect of particles (that is, a rad of exposure from alpha particles produces a greater biologic effect than a rad from X-rays). This weighted measure of exposure is a *rem*, and it is independent of the type of radiation (that is, a rem of exposure would be expected to produce a constant biologic effect, regardless of the type of radiation).

In discussions of low-level radiation, dosage is often expressed in millirems (mrem), which equals 1/1000 of a rem. For example, the average person in the United States receives 85-100 mrem per year from medical sources and an additional 100 mrem per year from natural sources, such as from the radioactivity in soil and building materials, cosmic radiation, and the natural radioactivity in the human body itself.

The *person-rem* is a measure of population exposure rather than a measure of individual exposure. It is defined as the added doses to each of the exposed individuals. The underlying assumption is that of a linear relationship between dose and effect. For example, 100 persons exposed to 2 rem each would be 200 person-rem, and the ultimate effect is assumed to be identical to one person receiving 200 rem, which would also represent 200 person-rem.

—Leonard Sagan

* Reprinted from "Radiation and Human Health," by Leonard Sagan, *EPRI Journal*, Sept. 1979.

THE CASE OF THE 32,000

Perhaps Gofman's best-known statement, dating back to the 1969 Gofman-Tamplin collaboration, is that if everyone in the United States were to receive the allowable dose of radiation there would be an additional 32,000 cancer fatalities per year. This is widely interpreted to mean that if we have a full nuclear power program there will be an extra 32,000 fatalities per year. The basis for this conclusion is that the internationally accepted maximum permissible dose to large populations is 170 mrem per year, and Gofman claims that this would cause that many fatalities.

If we use the risk estimates of BEIR, UNSCEAR, or ICRP given above, 170 mrem per year to each person would cause 3,500 to 6,000 fatalities per year in the United States, so Gofman is five to nine times higher than any of them. The BEIR committee studied Gofman's arguments, devoting six pages of their 1972 report to comments on them, and concluded that they should be rejected. His 32,000 extra fatalities should be no more than 6,000.

But this is only the beginning of the problem. Much more important is the fact that the 170 mrem per year limit has no relevance to the US nuclear industry. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission has a licensing requirement that no member of the public be exposed to more than 5 mrem per year. This applies to the few people who live closest to the plants; so as long as this requirement is fulfilled, there is no possible way for the average American to be exposed to more than about 0.5 mrem per year, which is 300 times less than Gofman's 170 mrem per year. His estimate of 32,000 extra fatalities per year is therefore too high by a factor of at least 5 x 300 = 1,500, making the maximum fatality rate from our nuclear program more like 20 per year. Actually, nearly all operating plants keep their radioactivity releases well below the maximum allowed, so the actual fatality rate would be even lower.

Gofman claims that government agencies use highly optimistic assumptions when they estimate the amount of radiation people are exposed to from nuclear plant operations. So let's consider, as an example, the assumptions of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission lying behind the requirement that no member of the public be exposed to more than 5 mrem per year. They assume that someone spends the entire year, day and night, at the point on the plant fence where radiation levels are a maximum. They assume that he gets no protection from being inside buildings—actually, this cuts exposures at least in half. They assume that he gets all his vegetables, meat, and milk from the nearby farm that gets the maximum radioactive contamination from the plant —actually these foods come from all over the country, so his radioactivity intake through food would be very much less than assumed.

Are the assumptions they make highly optimistic, as Gofman claims? The above are only a few examples; conservative assumptions, more likely to overestimate than to underestimate the radiation exposure, are made on any matter where there is appreciable uncertainty, and licenses are issued on that basis.

THRESHOLD TALK

Some scientists believe that very low levels of radiation are almost completely harmless, that is, that there is a "threshold" radiation dose below which there is essentially no harm to human health. Gofman argues correctly that there is no proof for such a theory (although there is also no proof that it is wrong). But then he goes on to give the impression that his opposition comes from proponents of the "threshold" theory. That is *not* the case. The threshold theory is *not* used by any government agencies or by any scientists publishing assessments of environmental hazards from nuclear power. They always use the linear hypothesis that the effects per unit of dose are the same at low doses as at high doses (this is also the theory Gofman uses).

As noted above, all of the scientific groups charged with assessing radiation effects assert that use of the linear hypothesis is more likely to overestimate than to underestimate the dangers, but nevertheless this theory is always used. This is another example of conservatism in nuclear regulatory processes and again is another counterexample to Gofman's charge that they are based on highly optimistic assumptions. When Gofman criticizes the threshold theory, he is beating on a "straw man."

As an offshoot of his complaints about

the threshold theory, Gofman usually points out that, if there is no threshold, even the small amounts of radioactivity released from nuclear plants are killing people. Actually, this point is generally accepted; we showed above that releases from a full nuclear energy program might cause up to 20 extra fatalities per year. But Gofman then exudes outrage at the idea that an industry is allowed to kill people. The trouble is that this outrage is very selective.

All industries cause fatalities among the public. The air pollution from coal burning, which is our only present alternative to nuclear energy, is estimated to be killing at least 10,000 Americans per year, at least 500 times the toll from the nuclear radioactive emissions Gofman complains about. Other forms of energy also take their tolls—oil causes air pollution and fires; natural gas kills by explosions, fires, and asphyxiation; hydroelectric dams can break with truly disastrous results; geothermal energy has very serious air and water pollution effects; and so on. Even solar energy, if it were available as an economically competitive source of electricity, would require the use of vast amounts of steel, which is made by burning coal and thus causes murderous pollution problems. All of these competitive energy sources kill far more than 20 people per year in the United States. For the solar energy option, a typical estimate is about 1,000 fatalities per year.

Chemical, paper, metal, and many other industries are also well-known polluters. But people evidently want the benefits of manufacturing and energy-producing processes. People use the roads as motorists, pedestrians, and cyclists even though there are fatalities. If they continue to do so in spite of the risks—motor vehicles annually kill 40,000 of their users as well as 10,000 pedestrians and 1,000 bicycle riders—is it so odd to think that they might be willing to accept the risks associated with coal burning, oil, natural gas, solar energy production, and industrial processes—and the much lower risks associated with nuclear power generation?

PLUTONIUM SCARE

Aside from his fear-mongering over the emissions of low-level radioactivity from nuclear plants, Gofman's biggest issue has been the danger from plutonium toxicity. His arguments are set out in two papers he wrote and distributed privately in 1975 (they were never published in a scientific journal).

In his first paper, Gofman introduces a new method for estimating the toxicity for plutonium, making several blatant errors. For example, he uses his own crude estimate of the area of the bronchial surfaces in humans, but the estimate is 17 times smaller than the generally accepted area. He assumes that dust settling in the bronchi of cigarette smokers is cleared away thousands of times more slowly than in nonsmokers in spite of the fact that there are direct experimental measurements of these clearance times which show that there is no large difference between smokers and nonsmokers in this regard. (Smokers compensate for loss of normal clearance mechanisms by extra coughing and mucus flow; if they actually cleared their bronchi as slowly as Gofman assumes, they would die of suffocation.) He uses the same erroneous procedure that made his estimates of effects of radioactivity from nuclear plant emissions so high, thus increasing effects by another factor of five. And he pulls other skulduggeries. As a result, he concludes that the risk from plutonium inhalation is about 1,000 times greater than the value generally accepted among scientists who have concerned themselves with this issue.

The total amount of plutonium in existence would fit into a household closet, so it is not difficult to exercise care in handling it.

At least five devastating critiques of this paper have been published, and I have never encountered a radiation health professional who takes Gofman's risk estimate seriously. It has been completely ignored by ICRP, UNSCEAR, and BEIR, which have since published reports reviewing serious evidence on these matters. It has also been completely ignored by NCRP and the British MRC and NRPB groups, which had previously published reports on plutonium toxicity with conclusions in the usual range and have not seen fit to amend them in the light of Gofman's thousand-times-higher estimate.

In his second paper, Gofman develops an argument based on a statement that sounds reasonable—that the nuclear industry cannot achieve better than 99.99 percent containment of its plutonium. He doesn't very lucidly explain that he interprets this to mean that 0.01 percent of all plutonium will be dispersed into the atmosphere as dust particles so fine that they will remain suspended in the air for at least several days (it is only these tiniest of particles that can get past the body's defenses into the lungs, where they can do damage). Ordinarily, only a minute fraction of lost material escapes in this form, so it is highly deceitful (*Continued on p. 35.*)

ANNUAL RADIATION EXPOSURE OF US POPULATION

	Dose		Statistical Projection	
	Average (mrem)	Total (person-rem)	Cancer	Genetic Defect
Source				
Natural background	100	21,700,000	3,050	193
Technology enhanced*	5	1,000,000	150	10
Medical diagnostics	85	18,500,000	2,600	164
Nuclear power (general public)**	0.03	6,000	1	0.05
Nuclear power (workers)	600	33,000	5	0.3
Nuclear weapons (development and fallout)	6	1,400,000	200	13
Consumer products	0.03	6,500	1	0.06
Effects				
Total from all radiation sources			6,007	381
Total from all causes, known and unknown			400,000	356,000
Percent from all radiation sources			1.5%	0.1%

Note: Calculations by Ralph Lapp, based on estimates of the BEIR committee. Table reproduced from *EPRI Journal*, Sept. 1979, p. 7.
*Mainly from naturally occurring radionuclides redistributed by human activities, such as mining and milling of phosphate and burning coal.
**Assuming normal operation, normal exposure. The radiation from the TMI accident (50-mile radius) was 1.5 mrem, 3,300 person-rem, expected to produce 1 cancer, 0.05 genetic defect.

The Tucson Tritium Trials

Forced into bankruptcy by Arizona bureaucrats, invaded by the National Guard, a small Tucson watch-dial factory fell victim to hysteria over radioactivity.

BY MARSHALL BRUCER

Tritium. That's trit'-e-əm. Most people have never heard of it. It's a radioactive isotope of hydrogen, and it was recently the downfall of a small manufacturing plant in Tucson, Arizona.

American Atomics Corporation used tritium to make luminous watch dials and signs. When the substance was found in food and water near the plant in the spring of 1979, four regulatory agencies, a few politicians, and the news media joined forces against the "tritium-belching monster." They won, in a manner of speaking: the company went broke and folded in July 1979.

But even that wasn't enough to allay the fears about tritium in their midst. In October, Arizona's governor ordered the National Guard to the closed and boarded-up plant to seize its stock of $500,000 worth of tritium, seal it in drums, and bury it.

Yet tritium's radioactivity is of the most benign form. It cannot penetrate uncut skin, and even ingested has never been shown to have any harmful biological effects in humans. The armies ranged against American Atomics Corporation knew all this but chose to ignore it. The Tucson Tritium Trials provide a case study of the crisis-mongering that over the years has aided and abetted radiation hysteria among the public.

Do you remember the old radium-dial watches of the 1930s? Luminescent numerals were painted on the dials so they would glow in the dark. The paint contained a smidgen of radium (1,600 years half-life), which gave off alpha particles that caused phosphorescent crystals to light up. The watch dials were expensive, because radium was rare.

Then the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) began making atom bombs. A waste product of bomb material was strontium-90 (Sr-90); it gave off a hot beta particle in its decay (30 years half-life). By 1950 we were up to our ears in waste Sr-90—until Swiss watchmakers found that, for lighting up watch dials, its hot beta was just as good as the hot alpha from radium. Radium gives off a gas that escapes from the watch; Sr-90 doesn't. When it comes to radiation safety, Sr-90 was much safer than radium.

(We did talk about safety in those days. We all remembered the radium-dial painters of 1926. They tipped their brushes with their lips; some painted their teeth to achieve a radiant smile. A few of them eventually developed cancer (a very few out of the thousands employed). But what newspaper reporter can spell *panhemocytophthisis* three times in a row? "Cancer deaths" was a good embellishment for newspaper readers.)

WATCH-DIAL CAPERS

The AEC did not have legal control over radium (since it is a naturally occurring substance, not a byproduct of the AEC's activities), but it did have control over strontium-90. Its health physics branch was promoting the great fallout hysteria (what better way to boost its budget?), and Sr-90 was the star performer. The AEC saw a golden opportunity. A new legal gimmick called the Worst Possible Scenario could convince Congress that to protect the public the AEC needed more control over radioactive substances.

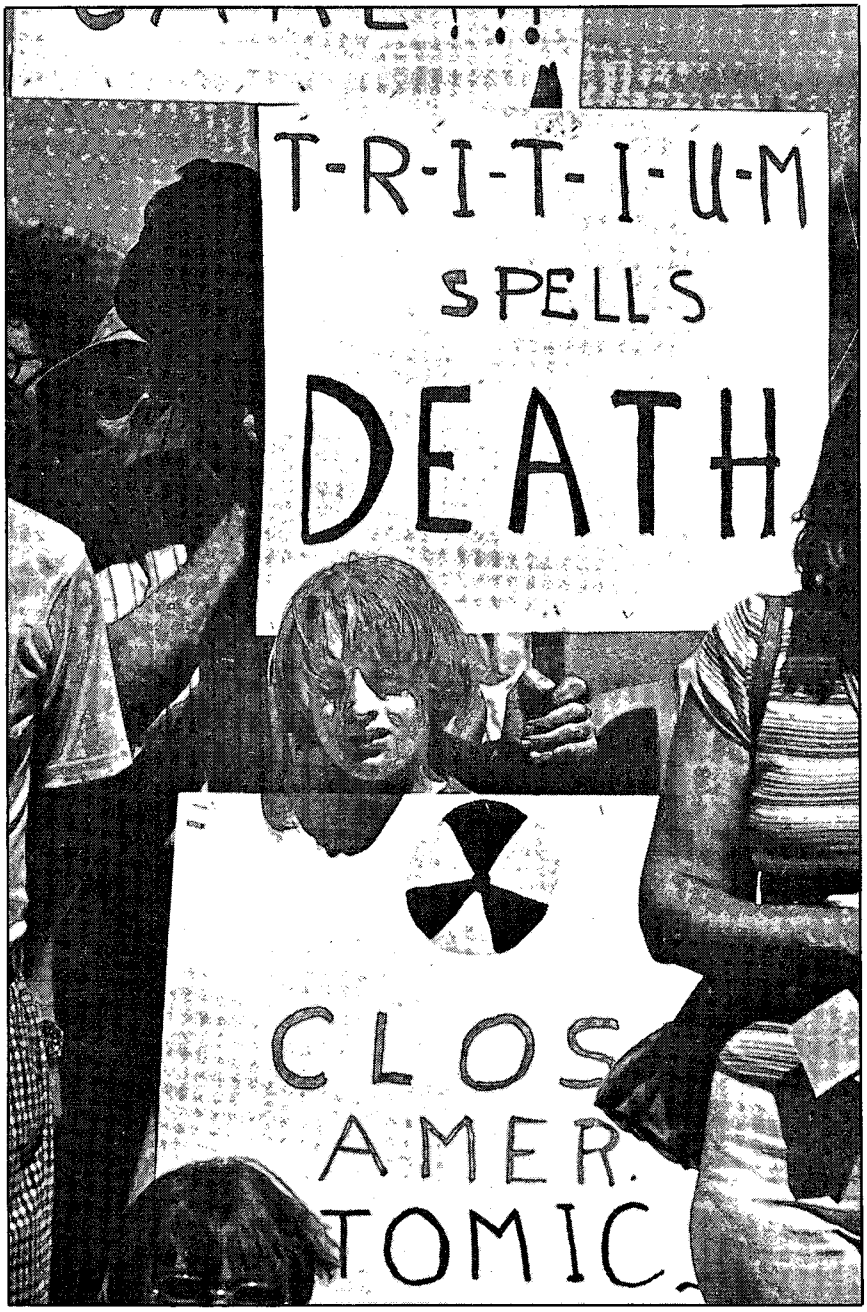
Suppose, for example, that a farmer broke his strontium-dial watch while pitching hay to his dairy cows? And a cow swallowed that watch dial, and an American mother nursing her baby drank that cow's milk? Sr-90 is radioactive; everybody knows radiation causes leukemia; 3,000 babies die of leukemia every year: Swiss Sr-90 watch dials must be banned from import. And they were. (Radiation does cause leukemia—but only at the dose you would get from *swallowing* about a trillion watch dials.)

The luminous-dial industry was in a tizzy until science came to the rescue. By this time the atom bomb had been re-

placed by a bigger bang for the buck, the hydrogen bomb. To make the H-bomb we had to have lots of H. H-bombs don't use your ordinary garden variety of hydrogen-1, or even double-heavy hydrogen-2; they use triple-heavy hydrogen-3, called tritium. We were making lots of H-bombs; hence we needed lots of triple-weight hydrogen, and we had to keep on making it because radioactive tritium decays away with a 12-year half-life. Soon tritium was running out of our ears.

Radioactive tritium gives off an extremely low-energy beta particle. It is too weak to go through a single cell in the human body, but if you coat the inside of a small glass tube with a thin luminescent paint, then fill the tube with tritium gas, the weak beta only has to hit the surface to light up the crystal. Thus production of the hydrogen bomb, the most dangerous man-made weapon, spins off the safest radionuclide conceivable. The luminescent watch dial industry was ecstatic over this safest (and least-expensive) continuous luminescence.

If a thousand such watches were crushed in an earthquake and a dairy cow ate all of the residual tritium, who could say it was not natural tritium, let alone blame it for causing 300,000 cases of cancer (the number had gone up by this time)? Even better: the United States was producing tritium; the Swiss were not.



CATCHING THE MONSTER

During the 1960s a small plant, American Atomics Corporation, set up shop in Tucson to manufacture self-luminous light sources. It had a couple of hundred employees. When you hire a couple of hundred, you expect an occasional incompetent. If you're not under civil service, you fire him. He then goes to the state unemployment agency to collect his reward.

On June 10, 1978, an employee in the Tucson "tritium plant" spilled some liquid on his jeans and did not follow standard clean-up procedures. On his weekly urine check he tested out at 600 microcuries per liter; 28 is the maximum permissible level. (Tritium's radioactivity is so weak that a microcurie is thousands of times below the level of biological effect. The lowest dose to have caused minute biological effects in mice is 70,000 microcuries per liter of drinking water for a lifetime. No effect has ever been demonstrated in humans. The Environmental Protection Agency, using computations that no one has ever been able to trace to a recognized authority, uses 0.02 microcuries per liter as their safety standard for drinking water—but only if you drink three liters per day for a whole year. See box, p. 33.)

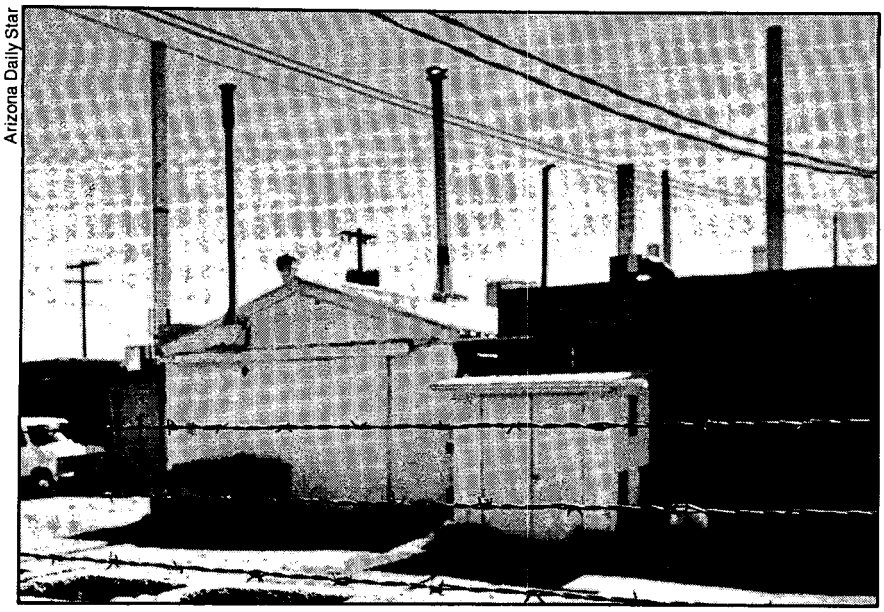
Because the employee had not followed the plant's strict safety precautions, he was fired. At the state unemployment agency they asked why he was unemployed, and he answered: I quit because of unsafe working conditions.

(At this point, you must understand radiation safety regulations. To use, possess, store, buy, or play with radioactive substances in Arizona, you must first have a license from the Arizona Atomic Energy Commission (AAEC). Following the dictates of mother NRC in Washington, the AAEC says you must post a four-foot sign on the door to the restrooms telling every employee that he or she is being exposed to nuclear energy and may sue at the drop of a hat.)

FINDING SOMETHING WRONG

Following standard bureaucratic operating procedure of never making a decision that can be bucked to another agency, the employee was passed on to the state OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration), which had safety jurisdiction. Following standard bureaucratic operating procedure, they bucked it back to the local OSHA, which, following standard bureaucratic operating procedure, bucked the question to the Arizona AEC.

The discharged employee had also ob-


Arizona Daily Star

American Atomics' plant in Tucson

served large amounts of water with tritium being dumped into the public sewer system. Following standard bureaucratic operating procedure of dividing responsibility when you can't buck it, this was obviously a job for the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). Washington was alerted, and then the AAEC sent an inspector to the plant on June 25, 1978. The inspector found no unsafe practices. The urine specimens of all employees, monitored once a week, showed minimal levels.

The Tucson newspapers were to show a great, but misdirected, fascination with these and subsequent urine tests. The first human studies of tritium excretion were done at Los Alamos in the 1950s. The scientists involved emphasized over and over that urine measurements are not the way to estimate the tritium content of the body. But because there is no good method short of cutting a hole in the belly, the best we can do is estimate from multiple urine samples over a period of months. Whenever you hear a tritium estimate being made from a single sample, pay close attention: you're listening to a liar.

The AAEC inspections, repeated during the next few months, found some picky-pickies such as no locks on the gates and rubber gloves in the wrong waste basket. But the company received a clean bill of health. There was mentioned, however, the matter of total tritium inventory, which was not a question of safety but a question of "noncompliance" with regulations.

On March 9, 1979, the chief inspector inspected and found the picky-pickies had been cleared up, but there was still the unaccounted-for "loss" of tritium in the inventory. Admittedly, by meteorological calculation it did not exceed limits in air and was probably a normal operating loss, but by inventory accounting standards the loss was large. In radiation health physics, rule number one is that you keep track of how much radioactive nuclide enters a system, how much leaves the system, and where it is in between. New emissions-control equipment was ordered for the company.

ZEALOUS REGULATORS

About this time, something happened that was to have quite an effect on the Tucson Tritium case. The executive director of the AAEC had a falling out with the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) in Washington over impossible federal requirements regarding uranium tailings. The NRC had him replaced. A new acting director took over, bringing with him a new broom. Regulators do not assist people, the new man proclaimed, but are here to enforce the law. Regulators are police with the power to subpoena witnesses.

On March 30 the company was sent a "notice of violation." On April 4 the new director was quoted in the *Tucson Citizen*: "I want them to lock up their gates. We're fussing with a technicality. There is no health hazard at all. I'm just enforcing the law."

On May 1 the AAEC called in the EPA expert on tritium, and the newspapers pointed out that the Tucson schools' main kitchen, the "Senior Now" main kitchen, a potato chip factory, and a parochial school swimming pool were all within blocks of the plant. A sample of food from the school kitchen was measured and found within limits, but the papers noted alarmingly that "tritium blows over to the kitchen from the tritium plant emission stacks." In his first test under newspaper fire the new AAEC director said, "The limit we're using is the well-recognized EPA drinking water standard, which is 20,000 picocuries per liter of water."

Note: The recognized standard is actually the international tables. For publication of the EPA regulation in the Federal Register, somebody had pushed the wrong buttons on his pocket calculator, and a new safety standard was made into law. Now everything wet is close to noncompliance with the EPA.

Still, the EPA's new regulations are applicable to drinking water only, and only after a full year's drinking it. But such fine details were beyond the president of the Pima County Board of Health. "Until they know what the hell this tritium does now or fifty years from now they should not allow this contamination. . . .shut American Atomics."

So far every expert had said that tritium is popcorn, and picocuries hardly exceed zero. The radioactivity was below even the EPA's exaggerated safety standards. But though 20,001 picocuries of tritium in anything may be harmless, it is also noncompliance. Arizona AEC staff were now gathering urine and food samples from all persons living within a block of the plant.

The school district's central kitchen was closed down upon command of the health department. The new AAEC director said the treatment of a child with tritium poisoning was to "send him home and have him drink a case of beer every day." An enchilada from the school kitchen had 10,000 picocuries; a piece of cake had 56,000. The assistant attorney general urged the AAEC to act immediately, not to wait for the citizens "to be either glowing in the dark or dropping dead."

SPECIMENS AND BLACK OLIVES

The *Arizona Daily Star* assigned its chief investigative reporter to dig out the real human facts. (She immediately investigated the spelling of "pico-curies" and got it wrong.) She found a woman, exposed to tritium, who was going into the hospital feverish, tired, and losing her hair. And the family dog was losing his hair. She found school kids going without lunch; one kid prophesied sagely, "You watch—in 20 years you'll keel over."

The governor of Arizona stepped into

the limelight, declaring the AAEC investigation "inadequate" and "virtually nonexistent." The Democrats of Greater Tucson called for signatures on a petition to President Carter. The chief of the Environmental Policy Institute in Washington said, "Tritium causes damage to the genetic structure....that's what causes cancer, mutation, genetic death and so on."

The AAEC offered to do free urine tests on anybody. The public should submit their samples in glass bottles because tritium in water is wet—it penetrates plastic or paper and might contaminate you, reported the *Arizona Daily Star.* Glass specimen bottles were soon in short supply, but the *Star*'s investigative reporter, no mean marksman she, recommended the use of baby-food jars.

A "major catastrophe" was barely averted when, minutes before the parochial high school swimming team was about to plunge into their pool, the AAEC called frantically from Phoenix with the latest test results, "56,000 picocuries per liter in the pool, and the EPA says 20,000 is the limit." (Washington EPA had misunderstood; they thought it was the high school *drinking* team.) The pool was closed, and St. Ambrose Parish "might be forced to take legal action."

The general consensus among parishioners was to keep God's help as an ace in the hole and to call on President Carter first. In early June a petition was passed at Sunday Mass. The City Council went to court to stop the criminal nuisance. The AAEC announced a 48-hour deadline on public urine-sampling tests. The Pima County Environmental Health Clinic had seen a stream of 90 people a day dropping off urine samples, swimming pool water, and black olives.

Unlike most states, Arizona does not have representation in the US Senate. It does, however, have a congressman who visits Tucson quite often. Mo Udall declared the tritium story "incredible" (which it was, but not in the way he meant, of course). He promised a hanging, but only "after reviewing the facts" against the culprits in a courtroom with gun belts removed. It's the Code of the West.

A TRIAL OF SORTS

This was the new AAEC director's first chance to wield power. He set up a kangaroo court, euphemistically known as a "public hearing": AAEC staff would be witnesses, the commissioners would be judges. The attorney general's office would prosecute, and five intervenors joined the prosecution: the city, county, school district (kitchen), St. Ambrose Parish (swimming pool), and the Senior Now Generation (kitchen). The victim, incidentally, would be allowed a defense counsel.

At a hearing closed to the public, the AAEC commissioners passed their first law: shut down the plant and *then* hold the hearings. The next morning at the first public session, a few hours were spent arranging and rearranging the tables to accommodate the press. An NBC cameraman had the final word, "Don't bother my lights or we'll cutcha off." Some anti-nuke demonstrators were nasty, and some of the plant employees, whose jobs were endangered, wanted to be heard. And so a second law was passed: the public will shut up. During the opening statements, a third law was passed, giving a clue to the impetus behind the hearings. One of the commissioners spotted a cigarette being smoked in the audience. With fanatical zeal the hearings were suspended until the primary cause of all cancer was banished.

Every expert had said that tritium is popcorn, and picocuries hardly exceed zero.

On June 18 the president of the local chapter of the Arizona Public Employees Union announced that seven cases of cancer, including four deaths, had occurred among kitchen workers since 1976. The EPA's chief advisor fanned the newspaper suspicion: a dose of from 1,000 [!] to 120,000 picocuries per liter for a year would cause about one more case of cancer during that period, he told the newspaper.

The commissioners heard six full days of testimony from the prosecution; the AAEC ordered the plant not only shut but sealed, the water solidified and buried under federal control. On July 12, after almost a month's prosecution, the now-broke company folded. The EPA and the NRC gracefully stepped aside to let the AAEC rejoice. A 56,000-picocurie piece of cake was buried by the EPA with full military honors in a Nevada federal burial ground. The St. Ambrose olympic pool was drained three times (in water-scarce Tucson), and 2 million picocuries were flushed down the drain. The newspapers rejoiced that about 200 people were thrown out of work. Another 200 children had been permanently imprinted with cancerphobia. But this was a small price to pay for permanent release from what was now known as the Tritium-Belching Monster.

ESCALATING HYSTERIA

Arizona's Gov. Bruce Babbit declared to Mo Udall's House Interior Subcommittee that "tritium literally blanketed the neighborhood." It was rumored the governor was considering evacuation of the neighborhood (this had been powerful politics at Three Mile Island), but nobody would tell him where the neighborhood ended. One of the highest concentrations of tritium had been reported in a prickly pear cactus from outside the AAEC office in Phoenix, 125 miles away.

Professor Sternglass of Pittsburgh (a well-known foe of background radiation) made the startling discovery that premature births were 30 percent higher than normal downwind of Tucson's tritium plant but 14 percent lower upwind. (The discovery is all the more startling when you consider that in Tucson the prevailing winds blow one way in the morning and the other way in the evening.)

But the neighborhood's telephone wires go even crosswind. The school district's central kitchen, a block from the plant, prepares school lunches for the whole city. Parents were calling in by the hundreds and threatening to brown-bag their kids' lunches. The state reimburses the school district 92 cents per lunch

CURIOUS ABOUT CURIES?

When the effects of radiation on living tissue are discussed, the measurement unit is the *rad*, a measure of energy absorbed (see "How We Measure Radiation," page 28). But when quantities of radioactive material are the subject of discussion, a measure of quantity is needed. That measure is the *curie,* named after scientist Marie Curie. The curie is defined as that quantity of any radioactive nuclide for which the number of disintegrations per second is 3.7×10^{10}. Since the quantities of radioactive material involved in most experimental and industrial applications are so much smaller than one curie, the following units are commonly used:

microcurie—one millionth of a curie (3.7×10^4 disintegrations/sec.)

nanocurie—one billionth of a curie (37 disintegrations/sec.)

picocurie—one trillionth of a curie (.037 disintegrations/sec.)

—R. P.

served; 0 cents per brown bag. About $30,000 per day was at stake, and the central kitchen had $646,000 worth of food on the shelf. All was contaminated, according to the chief doctor of the County Health Department.

Including the $270,000 stock of canned goods? "Refrain from using any of the foods shown to have levels. . . above 2,000 picocuries per liter," he ordered. That's awfully close to background. One sample from a can of peaches, which couldn't possibly have been contaminated by "the Monster," measured twice this level. Even the EPA, in its wildest miscalculation, allows 20,000 per liter of water for kids who drink three liters each day for a year. "That's arbitrary," said the wise doctor.

(The doctor wasn't up on the standards of the International Commission on Radiation Protection (the accepted authority)—a million times the 2,000 picocuries—and acknowledged that we don't know what biological effects "could surface five, ten, twenty, or even thirty years down the pike." Thirty years after the Hiroshima atom bomb, a few thousand Japanese who had lived through the thousand million picocurie level knew what happened—namely, nothing. The 120 leukemia deaths you've heard about were at the billion million picocurie exposure level.)

RADIOACTIVE NONRADIOACTIVITY

The School Board looked at the log of phone calls from irate parents and saw wings on $30,000 per day. "Dump the whole 25 truckloads of food," they ordered. "No radioactive poison in my dump," said the city manager. "No radioactive poison in my garbage dump," said the county manager. "No radioactive poison in our garbage dump," said the citizens of Sahuarita. But the manager of the University of Arizona's radioactive garbage dump had a different response: "No nonradioactive material can be buried in our dump."

A sign proclaimed the trench the Tucson radioactive dump for nonradioactive food—a triumph of civic logic.

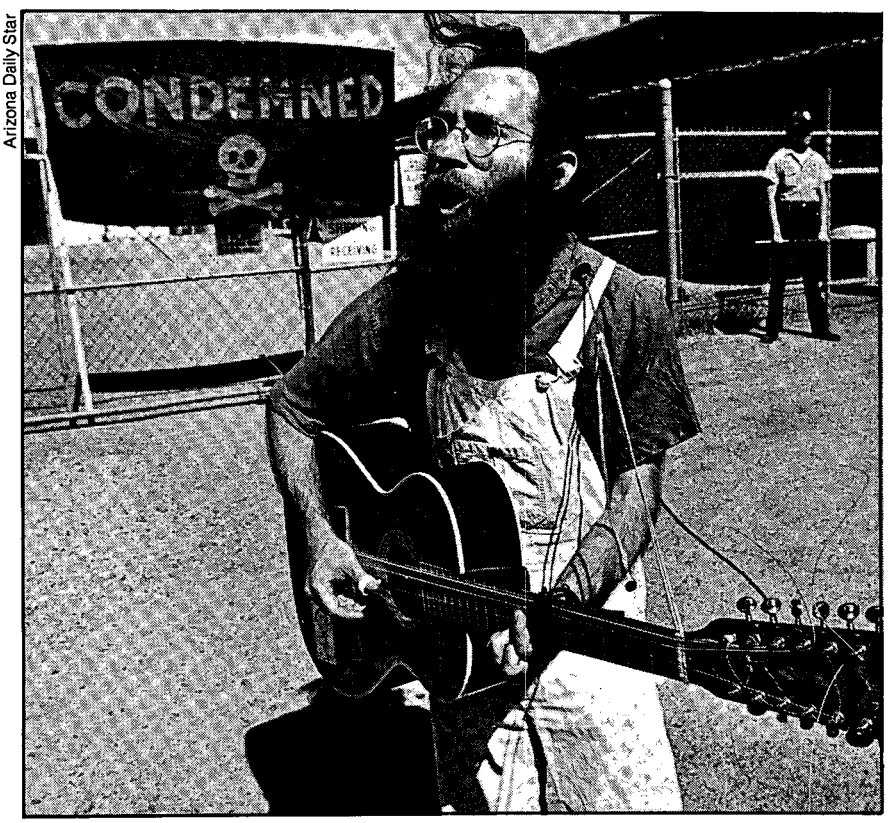
In desperation, the county board of supervisors ordered the food dumped in a county landfill. The nearby citizens complained. The county health director assured them there was no radiation danger. "Then why," asked a concerned citizen, "are we wasting $300,000 of the taxpayers' money?"

After a month of in-fighting, on September 5 a Superior Court judge declared the 44,000 cubic feet of food nonradioactive. The city council yielded. A 12-foot-deep trench was dug in a city dump, a wire fence erected, 24-hour guards posted, and a sign proclaimed it the Tucson radioactive dump for nonradioactive food—a triumph of civic logic. The dumpsters refused to comply. At midnight on September 9, in a clandestine military operation, the food was buried 30 feet deep on a deserted bombing range 25 miles southeast of Tucson. The site was unmarked, the truck drivers sworn on a death-oath to secrecy.

The concerned citizen just didn't understand. It would cost the taxpayers nothing. The food came out of the school budget. The kangaroo court hearings had cost $25,000, but that came out of the state budget. The urine testing had cost $40,000, but the NRC would contribute $10,000 and the EPA another $10,000; that came out of the federal budget. AAEC commissioners were contributing their time and effort. Mo Udall's subcommittee's surveillance was pure service to all states without discrimination by race, color, or creed. Governor Babbitt would undoubtedly pay for those telephone bills out of his own pocket. The newspapers would. . . hmmm. . . mused the county health doctor—that's a new problem.

A daily newspaper had been tested for radioactivity. It contained about 1.25 picocuries of radium and its deadly daughters. (Radium is about 10,000 times more biologically effective, picocurie for picocurie, than tritium.) With 133,000 newspapers printed every day, 67,681,250 unnecessary picocuries are spread like a blanket over his county each year. The wise doctor marched off to the printing plant determined to stop this plague.

But the final spectacle in the Tritium Case was yet to come. Early in October Governor Babbitt declared a state of emergency and called in the National Guard. Decked out in yellow plastic suits, gloves, and shoe covers and directed by officials from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the Department of Energy, and the Arizona Atomic Energy Commission, four Guardsmen entered the American Atomics Corporation's defunct factory, seized tritium worth $500,000, and sealed it into 55-gallon drums destined for a federal munitions dump near Flagstaff. All this for trit'-e-əm, one of the safest of radioactive substances, unable to penetrate



Arizona Daily Star

It was a case of radiation hysteria

the skin, unknown to be able to cause harm to human beings.

The Tucson Tritium Trials were not simply the result of a few deceptions. Not even a mini-crisis can be caused by liars alone. Three kinds of people are required to inflame the public: the immoral, the amoral, and the unmoral, and maybe a kook or two.

Immoral protagonists know right from wrong but deliberately choose the wrong: the original discharged employee saw an opportunity to get paid for his incompetence; the new director of the AAEC saw an opportunity to make an administrative splash; the newspaper's investigative reporter saw her by-line in print; the EPA tritium expert was dazzled by his sudden fame; the zealot on the commission saw an opportunity to save mankind from cigarettes and everything bad.

Amoral protagonists don't care about right and wrong; they choose the greatest goodies: Rep. Mo Udall chose public relations. The governor of Arizona "protected the people" based on head counts. The news media saw no reason to check facts (or spelling or pronunciation); in their self-proclaimed vigilance over a free society with a free press, they cried "Fire!" in a crowded theater and then reported the number of dead bodies.

Unmoral protagonists recognize no right or wrong: the lawyers saw a fine distinction between legal and illegal; the regulatory agencies saw a glaring distinction between compliance and noncompliance; the health physicists saw a brilliant distinction between a thousandth and a millionth of a maximum permissible dose.

REGULATORY MADNESS

In a recent article in *Science* magazine, Judge D. L. Bazelon of the Washington, D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals wrote a finely reasoned piece, "Risk and Responsibility." Legal "rules of evidence" are different from scientific "rules of evidence," and we ask judges to see to it that both sets of rules are followed. Judge Bazelon expressed confidence that "the courts will continue vigorously to carry out Congress' mandate that decision making be honest, open, thorough, rational, and fair." But what happens when the regulators hold a mock trial, pass the death sentence, and don't even listen to the defense? when Congress is superseded by the regulators? when the courts are relegated to traffic tickets?

On September 22 it became obvious who benefited most from the Tucson Tritium Trials. Like sharks in a feeding frenzy the AAEC voted itself a 250 percent increase in budget. The *Daily Star* quoted one member: "The legislature will be more amenable to such a large increase because of the public concern." The same can be said for the late AEC's fallout crisis in 1954 and for the FDA's attachment to the buzzword *cancer* at budget time.

Blessed are the kooks, for they have inherited the bureaucracy. ◻

Marshall Brucer, M.D., a resident of Tucson, has practiced nuclear medicine for 30 years. He has written numerous technical articles and historical vignettes on the use of radioactive nuclides. His latest publication (Sept. 1979) is the Trilinear Chart of the Nuclides.

Cohen

(Continued from p. 29.)

to assume, as Gofman does, that *all* of it will.

Present federal regulations on plutonium handling require that no more than one part in a billion be released as airborne dust (of any particle size), and all plants that handle plutonium have been successfully staying within these limits for several years—this is 100,000-times-better containment than Gofman assumes.

There are several reasons why it is not difficult to keep releases so low. Plutonium is a heavy solid material, not well adapted to floating around in the air. When in powdered form, the particles tend to stick together, to their container, and to any surface (e.g., walls) they contact. Directing an electric fan at an open box of powdered plutonium would result in very little of it becoming airborne. Quantities of plutonium are not large—the total amount *in existence* would fit into a household closet—so it is not difficult to exercise great care in handling it. Any box in which plutonium is being handled or stored is always inside another "box" that would contain it if the inner box should break, and the entire system is inside a sealed building (or truck) from which air can only exit through filters capable of removing plutonium dust.

The only creditable source of appreciable releases of plutonium is in accidents, and in the worst incident of this sort to date—a 1957 fire in a Rocky Flats, Colorado, plant—only about 1/100,000 of the plutonium inside escaped as airborne dust. This was before many of the modern safety precautions were instituted. In a 1969 fire there in which a production building was destroyed with $50 million damage, only about 1/10,000,000 of the plutonium escaped as airborne dust. In these escapes of airborne dust, only a small fraction of the material would be in particle sizes small enough to be dangerous, and of course, only a tiny fraction of all plutonium is involved in accidents.

Another misrepresentation of Gofman's second paper is that he bases his estimates on 400 million pounds of plutonium. None of our present electric power is produced by fast-breeder reactors, the type that use the most plutonium. But even if all of it were, there would be a total of only 2 million pounds of plutonium in the reactors. Here we have a 200-fold overestimate of the possible dangers, which is combined with his 1,000-fold exaggeration of the toxicity of plutonium and his even more gross exaggeration of the escape probability. Thus, the conclusion of his second paper, that there would be 20,000 fatalities per year from plutonium in a full-scale nuclear power economy, should be reduced to something less than one fatality per century.

John Gofman was at one time a respectable scientist. He is an excellent speaker, full of anecdotes, often about what he says some former government bureaucrat or some corporation executive told him in private conversation some time in the distant past—there is no shortage of poorly informed people of this type in our society, and quoting them out of context can make them seem even more stupid and insensitive than they are. He is a charming person in every way; after every conversation between us, I have come away liking him. But before you accept his fantasies about the dangers of radiation, I hope you will consider some of the information presented here. ◻

Bernard Cohen is a professor in the Department of Physics and Astronomy at the University of Pittsburgh. He has worked at Oak Ridge National Laboratory and as director of Scaife Nuclear Laboratories. He has held office in several professional associations, among them chairman of the American Physical Society, Division of Nuclear Physics, and is chairman-elect of the Division of Environmental Sciences of the American Nuclear Society. Among his books is Nuclear Science and Society *(1974).*

By Cong. Ron Paul

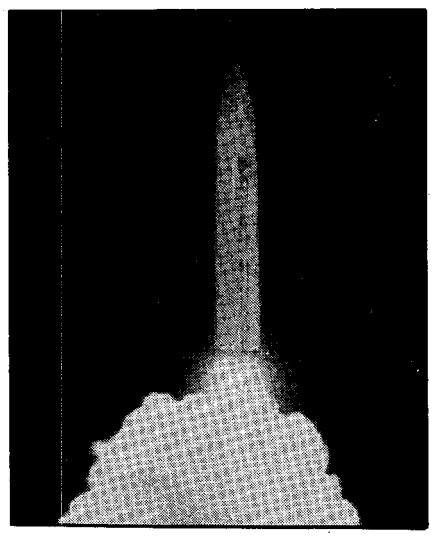
SALT-Free Defense

The SALT treaties commit the United States to "balance-of-terror" weaponry and help to perpetuate interventionism. It's time we re-oriented US policies toward true defense.

Libertarians are understandably suspicious of the American military and foreign policy establishment because of the tragic consequences of our policy of intervention around the world. In their commitment to noninterventionism, some have supported the SALT II treaty. It is the vehicle, they believe, for improving (even if marginally) the prospects for peace by controlling nuclear weapons and for decreasing spending on offensive weapons and our interventionist foreign policy.

I believe that these hopes are false. This particular treaty and the process of SALT as a whole should be rejected because of the effects we have seen in the past (and are likely to see over the course of the proposed treaty) and because of the positive alternative to SALT: a true policy of nonintervention and national self-defense.

Noninterventionism was the American foreign policy laid down by the Founding Fathers. As George Washington put it in his often-quoted but seldom-endorsed Farewell Address: "The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible....It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world." Unfortunately, we have spun 180 degrees from the policies consonant with the libertarian principles of the Founding Fathers, toward a systematic policy of intervention everywhere in the world.



Like gun control, arms control is based on the assumption that weapons are evil in themselves.

SALT is the dead end of the "bipartisan" policy of interventionism: a series of treaties with a barbarous regime, stretching into the indefinite future, which limits our right as a nation to provide for our defense in any way we choose. The SALT process is decreasing rather than increasing our security, is leading away from rather than toward peace; is increasing instability and increasing the difficulty of changing the United States' interventionist policies.

SALT: OFFENSIVE POLICY

Postwar arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union began with the multinational Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of the 1960s. Bilateral negotiations with the Soviet Union on strategic arms limitations began in 1969, continued in 1970, and were concluded with the signing in 1972 of

- the (perpetual) Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Systems, which restricted each side to two ABM sites—one to protect each capital and one Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) site;
- the five-year Interim Agreement on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, which froze the number of land-based ICBM launchers;
- and the Interim Agreement Protocol on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Weapons, which limited the number of Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBM) launchers and the number of submarine carriers—44 for the United States and 62 for the USSR.

The outcome of the SALT I treaty and its parallel executive agreements had both military and political aspects. The Nixon administration had said that its negotiations were based on the assumption that Congress would approve major new funding for the development of the $100 billion B-1 bomber—when less costly and more effective alternatives

were available. The B-1 program was not finally defeated until President Carter's decision to cancel it.

Research on the ABM was ended; while the system was planned to be employed only for the defense of American ICBMs (and politicians in Washington), it was a truly *defensive* system aimed at protecting major population centers. Defensive use of the ABM was, and is still, prohibited by SALT I—at American insistence. It was (and is) our policy to depend on offensive strategic systems. Defending people, the Johnson-Nixon-Ford-Carter administration has believed, is "destabilizing."

At the insistence of the Soviets, the treaty allowed the alteration of missiles to carry Multiple Independently Targeted Reentry Vehicles (MIRVs) and placed limits on the size of the missiles so vague as to be irrelevant. The result was, in keeping with an offensive policy pursued by both sides, a tremendous multiplication in the number of nuclear warheads—without any provision for a defensive capability.

SALT II continues this process. The Carter administration has called for massive spending increases that may raise the defense budget to $160 billion in 1981. Limitations are placed on weapons systems that could increase our security; instead, expensive "toys" are proposed. Under the terms of SALT II, limits are placed on the testing and deployment of the technologically advanced system in which the United States has an advantage: the cruise missile, which looks like a small airplane without a pilot, is dropped from a bomber, and then cruises up to several thousand miles. With its terrain-following and interception-avoidance systems, the cruise missile would compensate for the fact that our aging B-52 bombers probably could not penetrate the Soviet Union's extensive air defense system.

GUARANTEED VULNERABILITY

Both sides are forbidden until 1982 to flight test or deploy submarine or land-based cruise missiles with a range of over 375 miles—although we have the capability of deploying missiles with a range of 3,000-4,000 miles. Testing or deployment of air-to-surface (cruise) missiles in aircraft is forbidden during this period. These restraints increase the clamor for production of the land-based MX and a new version of the B-1 bomber as the administration labors to buy conservative votes for SALT.

During the whole of the treaty, each side is limited to the development of one "new" missile, although *new* is so vaguely defined that a missile with new warheads, a changed system of propulsion, and an advanced guidance system would not qualify as a "new" missile if it *looked* like the old one. US development of a land-based MX missile will take place under this provision of the treaty.

The MX will have highly sophisticated penetration capabilities as well as enhanced accuracy. By the time of its deployment we will have a counterforce or first-strike capability with regard to Soviet land-based ICBMs (70 percent of their strategic force).

Because of irrational devotion, however, to the triad of land-sea-air-based missiles—and the Carter administration's decision to build a 92-inch-diameter missile (in order to accommodate a slightly larger number of warheads), as opposed to a slightly smaller 83-inch missile that could be used in the Trident submarine—the new missile will of necessity be based in the United States.

If some future SALT III treaty actually cut the number of warheads in half, would we be any more secure?

The basing mode apparently will be a $30-$70 billion "race-track" system.

The MX system in this proposed mobile mode will not be ready for deployment until at least 1986. Under the treaty, development in missile technology (and the 300 heavy SS-18 ICBMs they are allowed to keep) will give the Soviets a counterforce capability against American ICBMs (Minutemen II and III) by 1981 or 1982—an interesting advantage to them.

In order to protect our ICBMs during this period of vulnerability, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown has stated that the United States may be forced to go to a "launch on attack" or "launch on warning" command mode to prevent the ICBMs from being destroyed in their silos. As Robert L. Bartley noted in the *Wall Street Journal* (June 15, 1979), the prospect of first-strike vulnerability of our ICBMs is an outcome of SALT I:

> *We would not be talking about launch on warning if [the] Safeguard [ABM] or some evolutionary descendent of it were now being deployed. Without the guarantees of American vulnerability in* SALT I, *it is even conceivable that the Soviets would have concluded that a big fleet of first-strike missiles was not worth the money. Without* SALT I *the Minutemen vulnerability problem would not exist, and we would not be headed toward a hairtrigger nuclear environment by 1982.*

(Of course, at minor cost, the Minutemen could be placed on mobile truck launchers and moved randomly between various military bases—though, under the treaty, *test flights from such launchers could not be undertaken until 1982.* Or our land-based missiles could be installed on surface navy ships—thus reducing substantially the strategic targets within the United States—this is forbidden, however, during the life of the treaty.)

DOWNPLAYING DEFENSE

But the most important—and most neglected—aspect of the SALT II treaty (as well as SALT I) is that it perpetuates the irrational American policy of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD), unilaterally adopted in the 1960s as an alternative to nuclear superiority. Under this doctrine, the United States has given up all defensive capabilities: a continental air-and-radar defense, ABMs, and a commitment to develop laser or particle-beam weapons. The MAD policy is based on the morally monstrous idea that Russian and American citizens are to be hostages and on the assumption that, so long as a sufficient force of American missiles could withstand a first Soviet attack, such a preemptive strike would be prevented by the knowledge that we would then proceed to kill hundreds of millions of Russian citizens at our leisure.

The Soviets, however, have never taken the advice of Robert Strange McNamara and adopted the assured destruction doctrine (or, for that matter, Kissinger's "minimum deterrence"): they have an extensive continental air defense system of fighter interceptors as well as Surface to Air Missiles (SAMs). Colin S. Gray, of the Hudson Institute, notes that "the Soviet Union has tested, and is deploying, a new surface-to-air missile system (the SA-10) which is almost custom-designed to bring down US air-launched cruise missiles (ALCM). Properly co-ordinated with ballistic missile defense radars, there is no reason why the SA-10 should not attain a good anti-ballistic missile (ABM) capability." (Note: the computer technology necessary for the coordination of such a system is beyond the capability of Soviet domestic technology but has already been supplied by IBM and Control Data.) Because of its fidelity

to the MAD doctrine, the United States now has no air defense system capable of stopping either a Soviet bomber or a missile attack.

SALT II perpetuates and intensifies our commitment to MAD. Because the treaty limits our reliance on submarine-launched cruise missiles and Trident II missiles (instead of penetrating bombers and land-based ICBMs), the increasing vulnerability of our land-based forces to a Soviet counterforce strike—as well as the continuing buildup of the Warsaw Pact's conventional forces in Europe—will create tremendous political pressure for

- development of the "race-track"-based MX missile system, at a cost of $30 to $70 billion;
- development of a new generation of manned/long-range bombers—the B-1 or a successor—at a cost of up to $200 billion; and
- reinstitution of the draft.

The irony of American military policy is that liberals, with a more benign view of the Soviet Union, have claimed these systems are directed against nonexistent threats, while conservatives, who have been more vocal in expressing their opposition to Communist tyranny or domination of the world, are willing to support practically every weapons program, regardless of the genuine needs of our own security and including the needs of the 120 countries in which the United States has intervened in the postwar world. They are both wrong: we *should* oppose systems such as the B-1 and MX—for military and economic reasons, and *not* because someone dreams the world is immune from the possibility of nuclear war.

INTERNATIONAL GUN CONTROL

Is nuclear arms control by treaty a good thing? More broadly, is general disarmament by treaty a good thing? Is it possible? I believe this question points out the fundamental fallacy behind the whole SALT process and every past attempt to limit the advance of arms technology or its deployment. That fallacy is thinking that disarmament *brings* peace; in fact, the disarmament of offensive weapons can only be the *consequence* of peace.

Peace between individuals may be defined as a condition in which each deals with the other as a free trader, without violating or threatening the violation of each other's rights. This is a condition of existence, not a contract or treaty (which can neither create nor enforce peace).

Look at it this way: if instead of vastly increasing the number of nuclear warheads, as SALT I allowed and SALT II would also, some future SALT III (or IV or V) treaty actually prevented new development and cut the number of warheads in half—would we be any more secure? When the superpowers have the capability to kill everyone in the world 20 or 30 or 50 times over, are we any more secure if they can kill everyone only a dozen times over?

A major problem of mutual reductions in strategic weapons is that at no point between the present level of strategic arms and zero is our security, or the possibility of peace, strengthened. Indeed, the strategic situation would become increasingly *unstable.* The necessary maintenance of an equality of forces becomes marginally more important as their numbers are reduced (becoming more difficult than an agreement between two competitors to set prices), and since the advantage held by either side may be the decisive one, the risks to both that their remaining forces may be destroyed grows larger.

If the Germans care more about nationalized health care than they do about defending themselves, that is their problem.

The real issue with weapons is to employ them so as to be able to defend ourselves against aggression and to retaliate against the aggressor—without initiating aggression ourselves. But arms control makes the weapons themselves the issue. Like gun control, it is based on the assumption that weapons are evil in themselves and that, while individuals are untrustworthy, the collectivity is to be trusted. This is the rationale of disarmament, whether the collectivity consists of two nations, as in bilateral treaties, or many nations, for example, proposals to place all nuclear weapons under the control of the United Nations.

I have discussed the cruise missile precisely because it is a potentially offensive weapon (and indeed, under our present MAD policy would so be used) that is also an effective *retaliatory* weapon: one that can be aimed at naval convoys, attack submarines, and airfields from which an attack has been launched, rather than against civilian population centers.

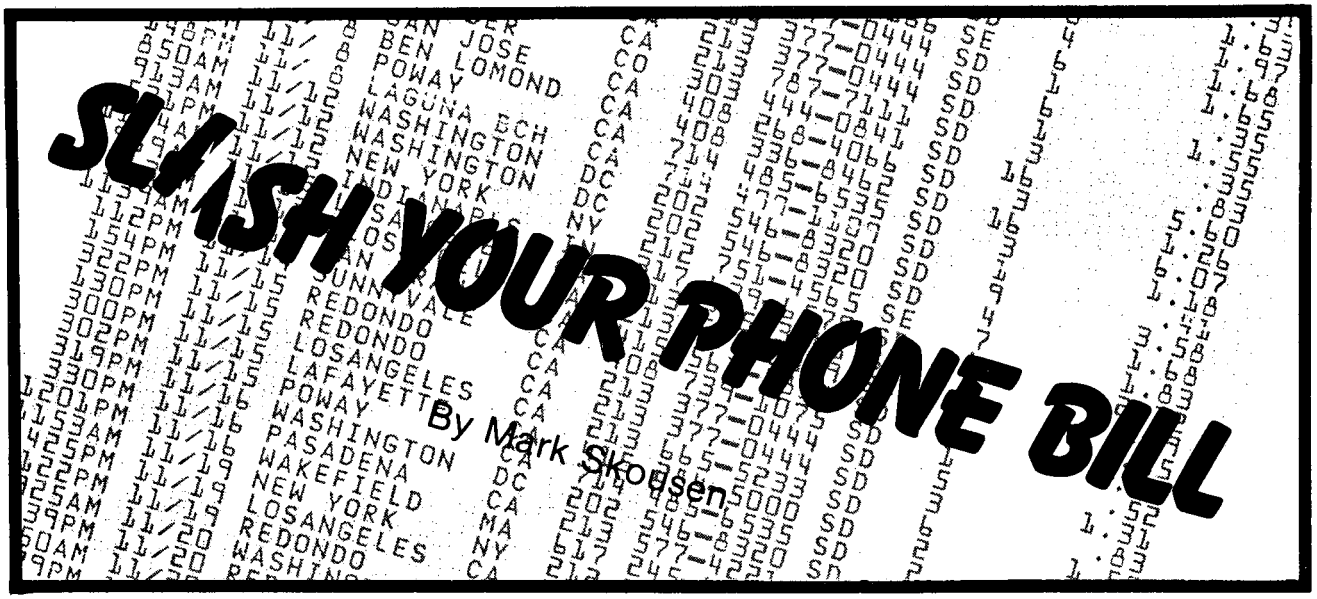
NONINTERVENTIONIST SECURITY

One of the consequences of the noninterventionist foreign and military policy favored by libertarians would be self-reliance by other nations in foreign, military, and economic policies. *But this would very likely mean increased nuclear proliferation.* It has only been a combination of blackmail and bribery by the United States and other signatories of the interventionist Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty that has prevented the achievement of nuclear capability by the dozen or so prospective nuclear powers: bribery through military and economic aid and the extension of our nuclear umbrella; blackmail through the threat of economic boycott and political intimidation. The pressures that are being brought to bear on Pakistan not to "go nuclear" is only the latest instance of this process (the bribe in this carrot-and-stick approach is advanced fighter aircraft paid for by American taxpayers). The Soviets, of course, would not let any nation under their domination obtain any independent nuclear capability.

This consequence of noninterventionism would, however, create more stable conditions, for development of a number of independent strategic or tactical nuclear forces would enhance the number of powers capable of retaliating against an aggressor. The French, who have doubts about the suicidal fidelity of America to its commitment to launch a nuclear attack if Europe is overrun, are planning to quadruple their submarine-based strategic nuclear force. To make an analogy, Which is the more stable defensive situation: one in which the town sheriff faces the gunslinger at high noon on Main Street? or one in which an armed citizenry presents a number of potential threats to the would-be marauder?

Whatever the ultimate strategic goals of the Soviet Union, the fact remains that mutual disarmament, between individuals or nations, implies a high degree of trust, which the Soviet Union has not earned, and honesty, which Marxism explicitly states is an attribute of one's opponent, to be exploited for self-interest. Are we not sanctioning the Soviet regime when an American president compares Lenin to Washington or hugs a "peace-loving" Brezhnev, or provides financial assistance to a State factory system? Do we not participate in the fraud of Soviet tyranny when we pretend that it is the moral equivalent of the freest of countries? Should we associate with, can we trust, thugs?

(Continued on p. 40.)



SLASH YOUR PHONE BILL

By Mark Skousen

IN SPEAKING AT SEVERAL FINANCIAL seminars on the West Coast last fall, I was surprised to learn how few business people knew about a private telecommunications network that could cut their long-distance telephone costs in half. Our own company has been using this system for over three years, and so far we've saved thousands of dollars over Bell Telephone's rates!

This money-saving long-distance telephone system is operated by two private companies, MCI and Southern Pacific Communications (SPC). If your business spends over $100 a month on long-distance calls and is located in a major metropolitan area, you can save money. And the same goes for residential customers under a new SPC program. (Check your local white pages to contact MCI or SPC.)

MCI's program is called Execunet, and SPC's plan is called Sprint. Here's how the system works.

First, dial your local access telephone number provided by MCI or SPC. It's a local call you make through the Bell System.

Second, listen for the computer tone on the access line.

Third, dial your authorization code, a secret five-digit number provided by MCI or SPC.

Fourth, dial the regular area code and number.

The procedure takes very little time and works marvelously.

MCI and SPC have developed their networks across the country, so you can make long-distance calls privately and inexpensively to practically every major city in the United States. Although the two companies are already established in about 50 metropolitan areas, they still haven't reached the Pacific Northwest or Florida.

The long-distance network operates through microwave towers built between major cities. Execunet and Sprint are becoming available in new cities as fast as these companies can build towers.

ADVANTAGES OVER MA BELL

Execunet and Sprint are much cheaper than Bell's long-distance rates, including WATS. In our own company's experience, we found that we would have saved only $1 a month using a WATS system, while Execunet and Sprint combined would save us about $200 a month over regular daytime Bell rates for long-distance calls. No wonder Bell bitterly fought MCI's Execunet program all the way to the Supreme Court—and finally lost in 1977. Once again, the entrepreneurial spirit of *private* telecommunications firms demonstrated that Bell's government-supported monopoly was too expensive. We welcome the competition.

In addition to lower rates, Execunet and Sprint systems offer greater flexibility than Bell's regular system:

• You can avoid expensive person-to-person calls. Using Execunet or Sprint, you pay only about three cents to find out if your party is in the office or at home! (Execunet and Sprint charge by six-second intervals, not by the minute.)

• Unlike the WATS system, individual calls on Execunet or Sprint are recorded and billed separately, so you can keep track of long-distance calls by your employees.

• In most cases, you can avoid the expenses of a telephone credit card and costly operator-assisted calls at hotels. You can hook up to Execunet or Sprint as long as you have access to a push-button telephone. MCI and SPC will provide you with a handy card listing the local access numbers in major cities. If you're on business in Los Angeles and need to call New York, all you do is call a local Los Angeles Execunet or Sprint access number and you can make the call on your company's account. This technique works practically anywhere—at a hotel, at a friend's office, or at a coin-operated phone booth. No more collect calls, person-to-person calls, or expensive operator-assisted credit card calls.

• Make business calls at home. If you have a push-button phone at home, you can link up to the Execunet or Sprint system easily. No need to be reimbursed by the company for long-distance calls made at home. You can even save money by making all your long-distance calls at home through your company's Execunet or Sprint plan.

And for those without a business connection, Sprint has recently extended its service to residential customers. For a minimum monthly service fee of only $10, you get unlimited access to the Sprint intercity network from 5:00 PM to 8:00 AM and

all day on weekends and holidays. The residential call rates are a low 8 to 12 cents per minute, depending on distance. Compare that with phone company evening rates of about 35 cents for the first minute and 24 cents for each additional minute, and night rates of about 21 cents for the first minute and 16 cents for additional minutes.

PRIVACY, TOO

There's one final advantage over Bell: MCI and SPC are private companies, and their long-distance telephone records are strictly confidential. Releasing these records to the government, AT&T, or private investigators would take a court order. On the other hand, when you make a long-distance call through the Bell System, your call could be monitored—legally! Under the federal wiretapping law of 1968, the telephone company has virtually carte blanche to eavesdrop on your conversations. Every year, Bell listens in on over 200,000 long-distance calls, ostensibly searching for illegal "black box" devices that some individuals use to make "free" long-distance calls. Rely on MCI or SPC if you want to keep your calls confidential *and* inexpensive.

Note: not all telephone books list MCI and SPC. If you can't find a local listing, you can contact either firm directly.

MCI Communications, Inc., 1150 17th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036. (202) 872-1600.

Southern Pacific Communications, Inc., Box 974, Burlingame, CA 94010. (415) 692-5600.

Mark Skousen holds a Ph.D. in banking and monetary economics from George Washington University. He is a consulting editor of Personal Finance *newsletter, in which an earlier version of this article appeared.*

Paul

(Continued from p. 38.)

"As for the Soviet Union," Leonid Brezhnev recently protested in East Berlin, "I repeat again and again that we do not seek military superiority. We have never intended and do not intend to threaten any state or a group of states. Our strategic doctrine is purely defensive in nature. The assertions that the Soviet Union is building up its military might in the European continent above its defense needs have nothing in common with reality." This was said immediately after his thinly veiled threat to nuke any country "'lucky' enough to have American medium-range missile nuclear arms deployed in their territories."

But it is not necessary to take a sanguine view of Soviet motivations and aims in order to oppose increasing defense expenditures and to support a noninterventionism policy. Nor is it necessary to endorse detente and SALT in order to enhance the chances of peace and increase security. America can continue to pursue the defeatist "bipartisan" foreign policy of the last 37 years, or we can alter our military and foreign policy in the libertarian direction of noninterventionism, the most successful posture that has been taken in history.

PROTECTION OF AMERICANS

American foreign policy should not be based on multilateral agreements or permanent, entangling alliances—either with friends or with enemies. American policy should have one goal: the protection of the lives, property, and liberties of Americans—not our global "national interests"; not the survival of "freedom anywhere, at any price"; not the ability to "project" our will everywhere simultaneously.

The military aspects of such a proper defensive policy are a matter for expert discussion. One option in place of a race-track MX system is the construction of a new type of Anti-Ballistic Mission (ABM) system to protect American cities—and American lives. As Bartley pointed out in the *WSJ* article:

> *US research on active defense has slowed drastically;* SALT I *bans not-yet invented ABMs based on exotic physical principles. Ironically, information-processing technology now makes it possible to envision ABMs without nuclear warheads. A proposed Porcupine system, for example, would attack incoming missiles with a shotgun burst of one-pound metal darts. But no one pushes this system vigorously, because if it does not clearly violate the disarmament treaty someone will charge that it does.*

The same is true of another advanced defensive weapons system that is well within our technical capability: space-based laser beams that can intercept ICBMs. Sen. Malcolm Wallop (R.-Wyo.) has explained the revolutionary potential of such a system—and the chief obstacle to its construction:

> *There is outright reticence in much of the United States scientific and technical community toward putting together the several elements of space-based laser BMD (Ballistic Missile Defense) for the purpose of defense against ballistic missiles. The reason is clear—a widely shared presumption that the Carter administration and its congressional allies, committed as they are to the doctrine of mutual assured destruction, would quickly stifle the work now in progress on the several elements. Indeed the administration is unfriendly to the system precisely because it could be used against Soviet missiles!*
>
> *Assuming the United States chooses to provide itself with an active defense, the first space-based laser battle stations incorporating the above-mentioned elements could be in orbit by the mid 80's. They would work as follows. Each battle station would orbit the earth at an altitude of about 800 miles. With an effective range of some 3,000 miles, each station could cover about 10 percent of the earth's surface—about 20 million square miles. These battle stations would have to be moving in their orbits over the face of the planet, one would have to have some three dozen such stations in orbit in order to cover every spot on the globe at any given time. Each station would have enough fuel for about a thousand "shots"—meaning that each could theoretically handle the possibility that a thousand missiles would be launched near-simultaneously under it. But, of course, Soviet missile sites are widespread, and several battle stations would not be able to cover even a simultaneous launch. . . . As few as ten would be sufficient to protect against a small-scale attack, such as one by 300 SS-18's against American land-based missiles, or against a reduced retaliatory strike, such as one by missiles which had survived a counterforce attack.*
>
> *The nature of this weapon system is such that it could operate safely in an automatic, guns-free mode. It could be programmed, say, to disregard launches of less than three missiles, but to shoot down all others. If the system made a mistake in peacetime, the worst it could do would be to shoot down one of the Soviet Union's attempts to launch a weather satellite. We could apologize and pay for it. On the other hand, we could be confident that the system could keep clouds of*

missiles from descending on us. The point here is that space-based laser ABM is a wholly benign weapon. It can only destroy missiles—weapons of mass destruction.

The Soviets, faced with a defensive American policy, would have two alternatives: to increase their offensive missile capability to overcome our defenses, or to build their own ABM. If the Soviets follow the theory popularized by arms-controllers that their actions merely "ape" ours, they will build an ABM system. If not, their offensive military moves will be evident, and defensive countermeasures can be taken. If they build an ABM system, so much the better, for that would represent resources used for defensive rather than offensive purposes, which would allow us to maintain a retaliatory capability at a lower level. But the important point here is that our actions are not being controlled by the actions of the Soviet Union; they are unilateral assertions of our own will, our own power, and our own need to exist in peace.

CUTTING DANGEROUS TIES

Modernization and development of new weapons can be undertaken within the context of lowered defense expenditures by using funds saved by the phased withdrawal of our troops in and our subsidies to our European allies and Japan. France, which benefits from our presence in Europe, spends 3.7 percent of its gross national product (GNP) on defense (compared to our 5-6 percent), Japan 0.9 percent, Britain 4.7 percent, West Germany 4 percent. US taxpayers pay the difference (indirectly subsidizing these countries' expensive welfare-statist schemes).

Defense analyst Earl C. Ravenal of Georgetown University has estimated that half of our defense budget goes to the defense of NATO (both for the troops and materiel we maintain abroad and for the domestic defense resources to support them). The NATO nations in Europe collectively have an aggregate GNP twice that of the Soviet Union and a population equal to that of the Soviets and their Warsaw Pact allies. They are quite capable of mustering the resources to build their own nuclear forces, ABM systems, or conventional forces.

Not only would American withdrawal from the European scene free very substantial air, sea, and ground forces to protect America—while reducing our troop requirements and allowing for the modernization of our forces—but it would reduce the danger to Americans of any crisis in Europe, which might be precipitated, against our desires, by our present allies and which would automatically make the United States the target of a Soviet first strike. Naturally, several NATO nations are reluctant to have on their soil intermediate-range ballistic missiles capable of striking the Soviet Union. They would prefer that American cities and ICBMs, rather than their own, be the targets of Soviet missiles.

European political leaders plead that it is impossible for them to make any greater commitments to defense. The German government recently announced that it will not be able to fulfill the pledge made to President Carter to increase its real defense expenditures three percent per year. If the Germans care more about nationalized health care than they do about defending themselves, that is their problem—it should not be allowed to dictate American policy. But it does indicate the condition of dependency and blindness that intervention promotes.

The SALT treaties bring us closer to the brink of war by continuing the policy of Mutual Assured Destruction.

Orderly withdrawal of our troops and nuclear umbrella would also reduce tensions—while allowing Europeans to take whatever actions they choose regarding the nuclear or conventional defense of Europe. It would decrease the chances of general nuclear warfare by ending the American commitment to sacrifice our citizens in order to quell a European crisis.

UNDERCUTTING TYRANNY

In our general foreign policy, noninterventionism could have important positive effects on our security by ending the pillage of taxpayers to support economic and military aid programs around the world. This general policy would have direct, important effects on the Soviet Union's capability to engage in global adventurism while attempting to maintain its defense establishment and keep its ailing economy going.

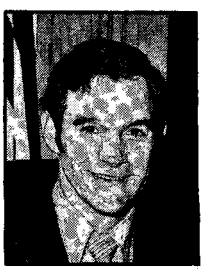
As Antony Sutton has detailed in his extensively researched works, the Soviet Union is a society that, because of its collectivist economic structure, cannot produce any technological innovation. It has been kept going only by financial capital, plant and equipment, and advanced technology from Western Europe and America. This transfer has been facilitated by American participation in and support for international lending institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank and by loan guarantees against expropriation that have been made to American firms selling to the Soviet Union. The reason Western businesses support Soviet enterprises and armaments industries is less ideological than venal: captive, monopoly markets are profitable for businessmen if they are some of the privileged few able to enter the market and particularly if they are insured by US taxpayers against expropriation.

Ideas are fought with ideas. It is toward the system of liberty that the people of the world can turn for peace and prosperity. It is through the diffusion of that system by voluntary means, by the example of American domestic and foreign policy, that a movement away from tyranny can be sustained.

The SALT process, and its latest embodiment in the SALT II treaty, undermines the chances for enhanced security and brings us closer to the brink of war by continuing the policy of Mutual Assured Destruction and by preventing the establishment of a secure military and political posture from which disengagement from America's far-flung military entanglements can take place. Rather than taking us away from war, it entrenches our overseas commitments, locks us into increased defense expenditures, and assures that we will continue to face the Soviets in an atmosphere of tension, armed only with offensive capabilities, and with the growing threat that one side or the other will take the fatal misstep toward World War III.

It is only with security—evident and independent of the intentions of the Soviets—that the American people will support general disengagement from interventionism abroad. Such security, and such disengagement, are antithetical to the SALT II treaty. ☐

Ron Paul, M.D., is a member of the House of Representatives. When he won a special election in April 1976, he was the first Republican ever sent to Congress from his Houston district. He narrowly lost the regular election but regained the seat in 1978. He has recently been an outspoken opponent of efforts to reinstitute the draft.



PRIVATE VOTING

Instead of voting for politicians, NFIB members vote on issues. They're showing how to get things done, without shifting power to the State.

BY DEREK BROWNLEE

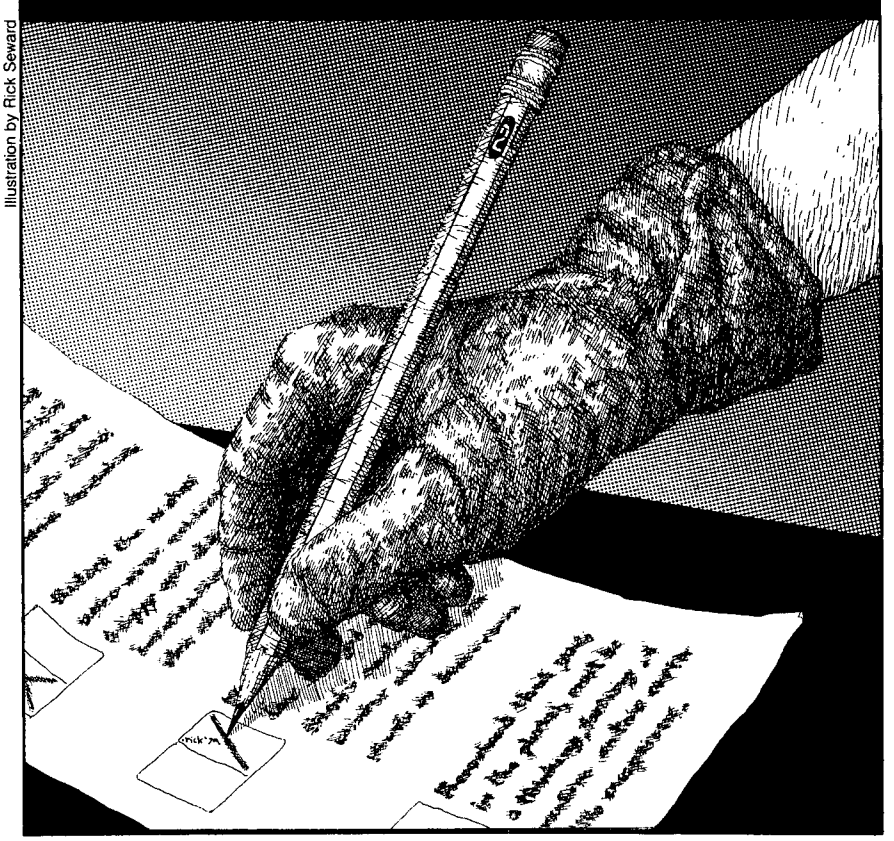


Illustration by Rick Seward

YOUR SIX-WEEKLY BALLOT has arrived in the mail. What issues await your consideration this time?

- *Do you favor or oppose taxing oil companies on the "windfall profits" they will receive from the deregulation of domestic oil prices?*
- *Do you favor or oppose creation of an Energy Security Fund to finance research and development in new energy technologies?*
- *Do you favor or oppose the continued development of nuclear power as an energy source for the United States?*
- *Do you favor or oppose removing the price controls on gasoline?*
- *Do you favor or oppose the mandatory rationing of gasoline during an energy crisis?*

Background information and arguments pro and con are provided. You make your decisions, mark your official card, and add comments to your congressional representative, returning them in the envelope provided.

Your opinions and those of the half-million others in your interest group have an immediate impact in the political arena. Government encroachments are beaten back. You see legislation favorable to your interests. Occasionally you get a tax break.

Eight times a year you get to vote on five current issues, some of them needing immediate attention. And you get action.

SMALL-BUSINESS POWER

This is not a vision of the future or some utopian blueprint for direct democracy. If you were a member of the National Federation of Independent Business you would have received the above ballot on energy policy in May 1979 and would already enjoy this effective political representation.

While other citizens' lobbies fight a losing battle with the political system, winning occasional victories only by extreme efforts, the NFIB quietly delivers the goods: action to promote, or more often to kill, legislation and regulations that affect members' interests.

Founded in 1943, the NFIB employs the traditional tools of business and trade association lobbying: alliance with other business interests; deep and continuing involvement with the political process in Washington and the state houses and with public education, media communications, and political opinion making; as well as responsiveness to client needs. Part of what makes the NFIB different is "the largest individual membership of

any business organization in the United States"—581,000 small-business people fighting the ravages of proliferating taxes and government regulations and ready to follow NFIB's voting recommendations at election time.

The way the NFIB is developing this political resource is what really makes it different—and provides an interesting lesson in democracy. The NFIB's members may well be the best-represented group of ordinary citizens in history.

"Our membership sets our policy," states the NFIB's George Burger, retiring director of federal affairs. A research staff in Washington sniffs out legislation affecting small business in its early stages. Five issues are selected to put to the membership in the next issue of the *NFIB Mandate*, a slim newsletter sent out every six weeks. (See sample question in box.) The results of the poll appear in the next issue of the *Mandate*. You can see how members responded to the May 1979 poll (second box).

The returns shape the NFIB's lobbying policy on those issues. The legislators involved are sent the results—the percentages of NFIB respondents for, against, or undecided—and are also informed before every key vote whether it's going to count in the NFIB's "How Congress Voted." This preelection tally, sent to all members and given wide publicity, states the percentage of times each legislator voted in accordance with the NFIB membership's policy.

The political circuit is closed. Not only do NFIB members' votes count, but their opinions on 40 issues a year are heard and responded to. Instead of casting their vote to the winds and crossing their fingers like the rest of us, they retain their political power and channel it through their own private voting system.

ATTACKING ON ALL FRONTS

While the *Mandate* poll is the most striking of the NFIB's instruments of power, it is backed up by a full range of more common lobbying techniques. Its 1978 *Action Report* cites the NFIB's "aggressive lobbying campaign" on behalf of the 1978 tax cut, a campaign incorporating "economic research, personal visits to congressional members, and comprehensive testimony in committee hearings and debates." By graduating the corporate income tax, the tax bill, claims the NFIB, is saving small business $1 billion annually.

Its recent lobbying efforts failed to stay increases in the minimum wage, Social Security taxes, and inflation, but it is working with some success to exempt small business from the mounting burden of government regulation and paperwork. Extension of union power by government action has also been successfully resisted. National health insurance, if financed in whole or in part by employers, is opposed, since many small businesses just barely survive as it is. Many *owners* can't even afford health insurance.

A case worker in Washington handles members' individual problems, which can set useful precedents on occasion. When NFIB member F. G. "Bill" Barlow, owner of a plumbing and heating business in Pocatello, Idaho, refused entry to an OSHA inspector without a search warrant, his case went all the way to the Supreme Court, where the NFIB filed a brief as a friend of the court supporting Barlow's position. The Court decided in Barlow's favor. Employers' constitutional freedom from unwarranted searches has been successfully upheld against a new government encroachment.

It might seem that business interests control the political currency, but the main beneficiary is really the State.

The NFIB often takes the lead in forming ad hoc alliances to influence legislation or promote political education. It headed the efforts of 400 groups in the successful fight against common situs picketing (the "one out, all out," or secondary boycott, rule that cripples industry in Britain and other countries). And it joined with the National Association of Manufacturers and the US Chamber of Commerce in sponsoring eight regional conferences on Political Action Committees (PACs). PACs are set up by employers to encourage employee contributions to electoral campaigns, especially those that help their business.

PRACTICAL LIBERTARIANISM

The NFIB, deriving its position from member polls, lines up on the side of economic and regulatory freedom more often than big business, not to mention the other popular lobbies. The independent business person, more than any specialized corporate bureaucrat, is exposed to the full horrors of big government. For small business today, survival requires a practical form of libertarianism, whether or not the philosophic understanding of freedom is there.

"Libertarian?" Frank Thomas, the 67-year-old director of membership involvement, seems unfamiliar with the term. It does not enter into the definition of his target group, the four million businesses that are both small and independent. Every year, those four million are contacted by the 500-strong nationwide sales force, which accounts for most of the NFIB's expenses. For the $50 or so that its typical business membership costs, the NFIB offers to the busy, beleaguered business person a chance to be heard, to do something.

Many members see themselves on the firing lines in the rout of the American way of life. It's a question of values, personal values such as hard work and initiative and responsibility, routinely denied by the social and legal environment they have to work with. When people talk of the need for another American Revolution, they have in mind reestablishing these very principles of free enterprise and personal responsibility.

What the NFIB does is convert such revolutionary sentiments into revolutionary action. Whether the label is acknowledged or not, this is a potent libertarian force. And even if it has made little dent so far in an opponent as formidable as big government, its methods and structure are revolutionary. If NFIB members can withdraw their power from the government and vote privately, so can the rest of us. *That* would be a revolution.

Yet few members are aware of the value of their private franchise. Less than 20 percent return their *Mandate* ballots. Rich Farana, director of communications, is particularly concerned about that, and a new-format *Mandate*, separately mailed without other NFIB materials, is expected to yield a higher return.

REWARDING PARTICIPATION

Farana's concern that members exercise their private franchise is significant. Many businesses and organizations poll their clients from time to time to find out what they want: what changes in products, services, or policies are called for to keep their customers. But the NFIB is demonstrating that the membership poll can be developed into much more. It is a source of political raw material. In the power brokering of politics, such information has political and economic value. It pays the NFIB to solicit membership opinion.

This is an interesting reversal in the political process. Everyone else in politics has to pay to be heard. NFIB members themselves have to pay from $35 to $500

5 Gasoline Rationing

Do you favor or oppose the mandatory rationing of gasoline during an energy crisis?

Background

Congress has been considering how to distribute gasoline in case of a severe shortage. The type of system most frequently discussed is rationing. Under that type of program, ration coupons would be given to eligible people, with some adjustments for business needs.

Another possible program is allocation of gasoline to service stations and bulk users. This method was used in 1973. Recipients would receive a percentage of their customary sales or consumption and then would sell or distribute it as they pleased.

Issue

In the event of a gasoline supply shortage, should mandatory rationing of gasoline be imposed instead of mandatory allocation?

Favor

In the event of an energy crisis, rationing is the fairest manner of distributing gasoline. Individuals and businesses alike would receive rations in proportionately equitable quantities.

If gasoline allocations were merely curtailed at the service stations, the ability to obtain gasoline would be based on a first-come, first-served basis. Not everyone would be assured of obtaining even a minimum amount of gasoline. Moreover, the latter system would create long, disorderly waiting lines.

The rationing system allows those who need gasoline for business purposes to obtain what they need in order to conduct business, while minimizing excessive gasoline consumption.

Oppose

Implementation of a rationing system requires creation of a mass bureaucracy to administer the program. Such a program would cost large sums of tax dollars to pay bureaucrats at a time when we are carrying a huge federal deficit. An allocation system, on the other hand, could be implemented speedily since upon notification, oil companies would be told to curtail allotments of gasoline to service stations and bulk users.

A rationing system is cumbersome and takes a great deal of time to implement, which is self-defeating in an emergency.

Favor ☐ Oppose ☐ Undecided ☐

per year to be heard. But having paid to plug into the political system, they now find that their further participation reduces costs and is thus actively solicited.

Systems engineers will immediately recognize this as a positive-feedback, self-amplifying process. If the NFIB were to credit members with $1 per response, deducted from their membership dues, they would demonstrate the truth of this statement. If it *pays* for citizens to participate in the democratic process, then participation will tend to take off in exponential growth.

Historically, citizen participation has always been costly. With negative rewards, the fires of anger or idealism are soon damped, movements go bankrupt, individuals burn out. With negative rewards, participation stays at a stable, near-zero level.

Now, we could be on the threshold of positive rewards. The NFIB, whether unintentionally or by design, has evolved the structure to do it. Whether or not it goes on to offer participation incentives is immaterial. Since the potential is there, it is only a matter of time before other political organizations step in and take advantage of its revolutionary methods.

POLITICAL CURRENCY

The vote is free, but not worthless. Nonvoters, currently around 50 percent of the electorate, say it's worthless to them. But the expenditure of time, effort, and money that goes into soliciting our votes suggests that they are worth something to those we give them to.

How much? The $900 billion in annual government spending (federal, state, and local) that we are authorizing these days is a good place to start. Let's be charitable and say that half of this comes back to "us" in transfer payments and necessary services. The remainder, $450 billion, is the political gravy that is fought over, turned into political careers and administrative empires, used to generate superfluous programs and profitable supply contracts, or otherwise wasted, stolen, or lost.

Then we should add in the costs of regulation and restraints of trade that our votes end up authorizing and that we pay for in higher prices. A conservative estimate, just over 10 percent of our spendable income, would be $150 billion a year.

That's a total of $600 billion a year as a working figure, a first rough estimate of the political currency that is generated from our votes. That's $4,000 per eligible voter. Yet by the time election day comes around, half of the electorate sees the vote as worthless and stays home, raising the value of votes cast to $8,000 each.

This is political currency. This is what individuals, interest groups, and society as a whole could gain by reclaiming the political process.

JACKPOT FOR THE STATE

At present the choice we are offered in the voting booth leaves us little or nothing of this value. It is rare that we can vote ourselves specific benefits, such as a tax cut. Usually we are just signing a blank check, and whoever wins our vote peddles it for whatever the political marketplace will bear in the form of more government spending or more lucrative protective legislation.

If we look at the election process, we find that both business and government are legally restrained from dominating it. Business interests do exercise a pervasive influence on electoral politics, however, and follow it up with aggressive lobbying. So it might seem that they control most of the political currency.

But in the long run, the main beneficiary of this activity is the State. Business spends all its hard-won political currency in a losing battle to maintain its position vis-à-vis the State, while the government augments its power and budget year by year. As it is now, the State is the final repository of political currency, the ultimate appropriator of voting power. Business is merely a convenient vote collector, just as it is an efficient tax collector.

There are signs that business is aware of its losing position. It is the natural ally of any movement to take power away from the government, and the NFIB appears to have found a winning formula.

PUBLIC TO PRIVATE

The attempts of popular interest groups to buy into the political process have been no more successful than has business. Common Cause, the Sierra Club, and dozens of others have correctly taken the first step, which is to influence the votes of members and sympathizers by publishing the records of legislators' performance. The political power thus collected is real enough, its clout recognized in the political marketplace.

Unfortunately, these groups have gone on to give this hard-won power right back to the government, with hopeful instructions to turn it into consumer and environmental protection, equality of opportunity, and other good things. And the government? It has been only too happy to accept, turning this political

power into multibillion-dollar new agencies and new controls over business, while the problems get worse.

The public-interest lobbyists, in turn, have come around to the realization that the government's performance has been dismal, that it may even be structurally incapable of responding to their needs. They could fire the government and spend their political currency somewhere else. But where?

Class actions have offered some hope. They do not effectively use voting power, but they do get results. The courts, inefficient as they are, do a better job of resolving public grievances than the legislative-executive monster. And when they win, the public-interest litigants get money back!

Here is another example of positive rewards: if class actions pay, then they will proliferate. The government has acted swiftly to stop this threat to its power monopoly, restricting both the number of actions and the rewards. Shot down again!

Not to worry. The ultimate result is that government is turning public concerns back to nongovernmental methods of resolution, specifically, private arbitration and private voting.

NEGOTIATING POWER

With private voting, NFIB members retain their voting power, releasing it through a private poll eight times a year instead of giving it all away in the public polling booth. To be effective, private voting must be backed up by a good lobbying organization. And a good lobbying organization does not give its power to the government.

The NFIB's success in representing its members comes from its alliance with the business lobby, which is becoming increasingly opposed to giving the government any more political or economic power. This does not mean that the NFIB is part of a monolithic, big-business power bloc. Its policy is set every six weeks by its members. Its alliances are ad hoc, and sometimes it is on the opposite side of an issue from big business. And sometimes it has to negotiate.

Look at the differences. The big-business lobbies represent large institutions and the corporate elite who make policy. The NFIB represents ordinary people and their personally run businesses. On questions of big versus small business, or institutions versus people, the NFIB may come out opposed to big business.

Does this mean it has to give its power to the government on these issues? Not at all. There are few illusions in small business and the NFIB that a government agency such as the Small Business Administration can save them. It is much better to negotiate. Within the antigovernment camp, the NFIB trades its political currency for a better deal for small-business people. It may support the business lobby 99 percent of the time, but not before it gets its special exemptions and tax breaks and considerations to make life bearable for its members, as expressed through their *Mandate* responses.

This representation is certainly effective, but it is limited to economic issues. The NFIB does not get involved in social issues, no matter how much they affect individual members. Presumably, if they have strong opinions about the environment, gun control, or busing, they can join the appropriate interest groups. They may also wonder why these groups don't use the NFIB's effective methods of representation.

TAXPAYERS: THE ULTIMATE LOBBY

The National Taxpayers Union is close to the NFIB on the political spectrum. It, too, is dedicated to keeping its members' money and power out of the hands of the government. The NTU's main issue is mathematically simple: cut government spending. Legislators are rated according to how many dollars they vote to spend. This, according to NTU, "is designed to avoid the subjectivity which characterizes voting studies which play the 'rating game.' Those studies focus on Congressional votes on certain 'key issues,' failing to take into account the hundreds of votes that deal directly or indirectly with the issues being analyzed."

The NTU would appear to have the same advantages as the NFIB: a position basically compatible with the business lobby, and some voting power that can be traded for benefits for the membership. But it also has one outstanding difference: its target group is all taxpayers. That's virtually everybody. If the NTU were to introduce a *Mandate*-type poll, it would have the potential to extend the private franchise to all of us.

The NTU's membership has grown to 120,000 in the few years since Jim Davidson founded it. How many more would be attracted by the opportunity for private voting is a matter for speculation. There are certainly enough to make a fine demonstration of the principle.

Demonstration is necessary for any new-fangled invention or idea. The NFIB prototype is not visible outside its client group. The NTU production model would appeal to the politically aware everywhere, attract publicity and controversy, and become part of our common knowledge. Soon, no interest group worthy of its $15 annual dues could fail to offer its members this elementary facility.

The NFIB has managed to attract 15 percent of its target group. On a national scale, this 15 percent would be over 20 million concerned citizens withdrawing power from the government.

STREAMLINED POLITICS

What about the other 85 percent? Would they continue to relinquish their power to a government they can't control?

What about antibusiness groups? Would they continue to hand over their power and get nothing in return? This question is particularly urgent for the big-business lobbies right now.

A solution is for the big-business lob-

RESULTS: MANDATE 419

1. Do you favor or oppose taxing oil companies on the "windfall profits" they will receive from the deregulation of domestic oil prices?

Favor	Oppose	Undecided
46%	48%	6%

2. Do you favor or oppose creation of an Energy Security Fund to finance research and development in new energy technologies?

Favor	Oppose	Undecided
38%	58%	4%

3. Do you favor or oppose the continued development of nuclear power as an energy source for the U.S.?

Favor	Oppose	Undecided
75%	19%	6%

4. Do you favor or oppose removing the price controls on gasoline?

Favor	Oppose	Undecided
58%	38%	4%

5. Do you favor or oppose the mandatory rationing of gasoline during an energy crisis?

Favor	Oppose	Undecided
32%	61%	7%

bies to negotiate directly and privately with their adversaries, offering incentives to negotiate in the form of consultation fees. It would be a lot like negotiating with labor unions, and the output would be a contract in which political power is traded for pollution standards, hiring practices, product liability agreements, land use concessions, and so on.

The negotiating fees would provide the public-interest groups with a way of going after the other 85 percent, encouraging them to participate with free membership and direct rewards for participation.

And the government? Suddenly it's lost all its customers. They've taken their power elsewhere.

Eliminating that disastrous bureaucratic middleman from the political process promises not only benefits for everybody but a political-economic liberation, a new era of free enterprise, fulfillment of public needs, and personal power.

ESCAPING THE POWER NET

It is perhaps surprising that the prototype for a political revolution should be created by a conservative business group, a trade association. But it is entirely appropriate that it should occur, not in Washington, D.C., but in a modern square building 3,000 miles away in San Mateo, California.

There, asserts Rich Farana, the NFIB maintains an objectivity and realism that is lost in the never-never land of Washington. The troops in the Research and Federal Affairs departments do battle in the capital, but they are directed from the grass roots via a cool Pacific headquarters. It is definitely symbolic of the fact that the NFIB is taking its members' power back from Washington, returning it to the people where they live. ◧

Derek Brownlee is a free-lance engineering economist, currently researching and writing on nongovernmental approaches to the future. His article "Seizing the Day" appeared in REASON in November 1978.

Coming Next Month:

- **Prohibition born again:** With moonshining on the wane, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms is keeping itself in business with an all-out campaign against gun owners.
- **Free-enterprise zones:** Creative urban renewal, a la the free market, calls for lifting taxes and regulations to counter inner-city decay.
- **Eugene McCarthy:** a political veteran tells REASON's interviewer why he supports conscription, whether he favors decontrol of oil prices, his view of the tax revolt, and more.
- **Alaskan war:** It's billed as a battle between business and environmentalists, but the struggle over 100 million acres of federally owned land really pits the State against the individual—and in Alaska, they don't like the way it's going.

Plus Jim Davidson's Viewpoint, Steve Beckner's Money column, John Hospers on movies, and all of REASON's regular features.

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REASON's probing of Ronald Reagan?

July 1975 $1.00

"I believe the very heart and soul of conservatism is libertarianism," Ronald Reagan said in his interview with REASON's Manny Klausner almost five years ago. Read about Reagan, then go on to Eric Garris's profile of another 1980 hopeful, then-new governor Jerry Brown. Check out Mark Frazier's prophetic article on the deregulation of the trucking industry, and Walter Grinder and Alan Fairgate's analysis of the revival of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Plus Murray Rothbard's controversial Viewpoint on the fall of Vietnam.

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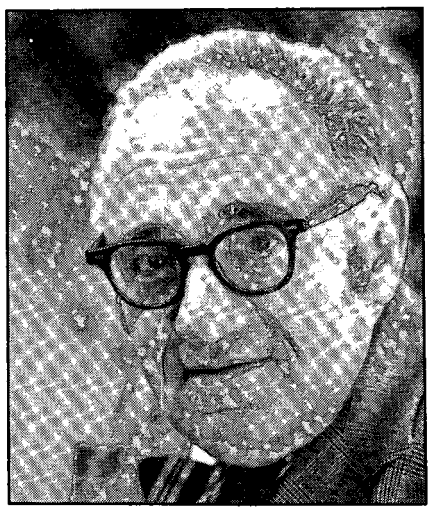
Collective Guilt in Iran

viewpoint



Murray N. Rothbard

At the time of writing it is difficult to predict the outcome of the explosive Iranian crisis. But several important points can now be made.

In the first place, the crisis has uncovered some particularly ugly aspects of the American character, traits that apparently have festered beneath a gossamer-thin layer of civilized values. In particular, jingoism and racism. Throughout the country, and on countless college campuses, angry demonstrators have called for the "nuking" of Iran and for the deportation of all Iranian students from the United States. Iranians here—even citizens born here but who suffer the stigma of Iranian descent—have been harassed and beaten up.

In this climate of fear, many Iranians are understandably hiding their origin, protesting that they come from Iraq, Turkey, or indeed any place except the country that dare not speak its name. The calls for nuking and for deportation are also being made to the tune of a myriad of racial epithets, all of which seem to revolve around the darkish color of some Iranian skins and the alleged homosexuality of the ayatollah and even of the country itself (?)—all of which, at the very least, ignores the severe crackdown on homosexuality by the current regime.

The idea that the frenzy of the American public is motivated by compassion for the plight of the 50 hostages in Teheran simply won't wash. Thousands of people are murdered throughout the world almost continuously, from Cambodia to East Timor to Afghanistan and, until recently, to Uganda and the Central African Empire, with scarcely a murmur of protest from the indifferent American public. Even the plight of fellow Americans does not usually generate such furor; witness the fact that murders and kidnappings take place all the time in American cities without evoking bellows of fury and indignation from the American masses. No, the motivation is not compassion or justice but jingoism, the feeling that the national honor—that is, the honor of the American nation-state—has been offended: that the beak of the American eagle has, so to speak, been tweaked with impunity.

For its part, the cry for the deportation of Iranian students is, simply and malevolently, an expression of the very concept **of collective guilt for which the world** rightly condemned the Nazis when they punished the Czech resistance by destroying the village of Lidice. The fact that several hundred Iranian students in Teheran are guilty of kidnapping does not entail guilt for the many thousands of Iranian students in the United States. The barbaric concept of collective guilt was precisely the reasoning behind the American incarceration of all Japanese-American citizens in concentration camps in World War II; innocent Japanese-Americans were being "punished" for the crimes of their racial brethren at Pearl Harbor.

Already, the Carter administration has given in to some of the collective guilt hysteria by moving to deport Iranian student immigrants who are here illegally—that is, who have violated some clause of their visas. Most of these "criminals" are simply students who, in violation of our vicious protectionist immigration rules, are presuming to work at productive American jobs, either part-time or full-time, and even continuing to do so after graduation.

The Carter administration is also beginning to realize that not all Iranians are alike and that an estimated 30-40 percent of Iranian students in the United States are opposed to the Khomeini regime, this being precisely why they have been technically overstaying their term. Most of them are non-Moslems, largely Jews, while others are Christians, Zoroastrians, or Baha'i. If they are coercively deported back to Iran, they will be sent to probable jail or even death at the hands of the very Khomeini regime we are trying to punish. Even if these illegals are merely smoked out and forced to emerge from their current protective limbo to ask openly for asylum in the United States, this very act may jeopardize the lives and liberties of their families in Iran.

Collective guilt is also being imposed by other Carter actions in the Iranian crisis. Embargoing the import of oil injures both American consumers and innocent Iranian oil workers and other Iranians dependent on exports. Freezing Iranian bank deposits bails out Chase Manhattan and other banks that don't like paying their contractual deposits but injures other banks, American and European, which don't have Iranian loans that they, like Chase, can collect from the blocked deposits. And while the freeze technically applies only to Iranian government and central-bank accounts, most private Iranians or non-Iranian investors in Iran have to use the central bank, and so their accounts are blocked as well. Thus, the US government sanctions, indeed orders, a virtual confiscation of assets, and the long-run consequences for the American and European banking systems are dangerous and incalculable.

Similarly, any blockade of food imports into Iran would impose a devastating collective guilt on innocent Iranian civilians by bringing starvation to large numbers of people. Similar, and even more dangerous, problems would be entailed by any kind of military strike on Iran. For one thing, the Iranians were not dumb enough to emulate the Palestinians in Uganda who conveniently kept their hostages at the Entebbe airport, wide open for an Israeli commando air rescue.

But the important overall point is that "punishment" in foreign affairs is a very different and more tenuous matter than in police actions at home. A surgical strike against the ayatollah or against the embassy students is a very different matter from catching and punishing Richard Speck or Sam Berkowitz. In particular, and aside from international implications of war and peace, the police would never presume to catch a fleeing Speck or Berkowitz by strafing a crowded street

with flame throwers or machine-gun fire.

In *domestic* actions, the police scrupulously and properly make sure that they do not injure innocent "civilians" in the process of hunting down the criminal. They know that it is more important to protect the innocent than to capture the guilty. No less should apply in foreign affairs. But since in foreign "punishment" it is impossible to avoid killing innocent parties, the United States must therefore refrain from the luxury of punishment or the exercise of military might.

The worst byproduct of the Iran affair will probably be the permanent return of a thirst for global intervention by the American public. Already, the *New York Times* reports that, as a result of the public fervor over Iran, the "post-Vietnam syndrome"—the realization of great perils and little benefit from intervention abroad, and particularly in the Third World—is ended. We are getting set to resume the arrogant policies of the pre-Vietnam era. The American public has always been quick to forget unpleasant lessons of the past (most of us still think we *won* the War of 1812!), and hence we may be doomed to repeat them.

Murray Rothbard is a professor of economics at Polytechnic Institute of New York and author of numerous articles and books on economics, history, and the libertarian movement.

taxes

As April Approaches...

By Tim Condon

It's just about that time again. With the April 15 deadline approaching, anyone who hasn't gotten it together to do his or her taxes should consider it now.

This year there are some changes, too, brought about by the Revenue Act of 1978. Some people may even be pleasantly surprised to find that they'll receive a bigger refund check than in recent years past. Of course, that doesn't mean the government's taking in less money—fat chance—it just means that some of us will get a few breaks from the ever-increasing tax burden lying on our backs.

Here are some of the changes that will affect your federal income taxes and the way you do them this year:

- The minimum income that requires you to file any income tax return at all has been raised a little. For single people, under and over age 65, respectively, the minimum filing income limits have been raised from $2,950 and $3,700 in 1978 to $3,300 and $4,300 for 1979. For married people, both *under* age 65 or both *over* age 65, the income levels necessitating filing have been raised from $4,700 and $6,200 in 1978, respectively, to $5,400 and $7,400 for 1979. If only one of the married filers is over age 65, the limits have been raised from $5,450 to $6,400. For those filing married/separately, the limits have gone from $750 in 1978 to $1,000 in 1979.
- Standard deductions (now called "zero bracket amounts") have been slightly increased for 1979, also. For those married couples filing jointly, the standard went from $3,200 in 1978 to $3,400 in 1979. Single people and those filing as unmarried heads of households will now get a $2,300 standard deduction instead of the old $2,200. And those who are married but file separately will get a standard of $1,700 instead of the old $1,600 from 1978.
- Exemptions for dependents have been raised, from $750 last year to $1,000 each today.
- The tax brackets have been widened this year—in response, no doubt, to widespread criticism and complaints from taxpayers being shoved into ever-higher tax brackets by government-caused inflation...while their standard of living decreases. Although only a partial help, this widening of the brackets is intended to dampen criticism of the "progressive" income tax by preventing people from being shoved so quickly into those higher tax brackets.
- The auto mileage deduction has been increased a miniscule amount. Where it was 15 cents for the first 15,000 business miles in 1976 and raised to 17 cents for the first 15,000 miles in 1977, now the IRS is allowing an 18.5 cent deduction per mile in 1979. Of course, the latest and best studies (done by the Hertz Corporation) show that the cost of operating an automobile is now about 38 cents a mile, but that is of little import to the IRS, which can administratively set the mileage allowance at any level it wants.
- The Earned Income Credit—a form of negative income tax instituted in 1975—has been raised also. Whereas last year the maximum credit was 10 percent of $4,000, this year that entitlement has been raised to 10 percent of $5,000, or $500.
- On the other side of the ledger, the state and local gasoline tax deduction has been abolished. The old Schedule A deduction was dropped as a concession to those in Congress who feel that Americans are getting too many tax breaks (*sic*) or are driving their cars too much.
- Naturally, the ever-increasing FICA (Social Security) taxes have been upped yet again. Here are what the increases over the last several years—and into the future—look like:

1976	$ 895.05
1977	965.25
1978	1,070.85
1979	1,403.77
1980	1,587.67
1981	1,975.05

These figures illustrate the maximum amount taken out of an employee's pay for FICA taxes during each year. In addition, the employer must match the same amount, as his "contribution." Not bad—a 121 percent increase in a mere six years. But take heart: we haven't seen anything yet. This particularly vicious tax—which they tell us is "for our own good"—is scheduled to top $3,000 in the next several years.

In addition, here are a few simple tips for those getting ready to tackle their income taxes:

1. The easiest way to get ready to do your taxes is to gather all your records together at one time, in one place. The most important records you can have are your cancelled checks and check registers, your business diary and auto mileage log if you keep them, and, of course, your receipts. Get them all together, and the chances are that you'll have everything you need at your fingertips as you do your taxes.
2. If you're doing your own tax return and run into *any* area you don't understand or have questions about...don't take a chance. Go ask a professional, or see that you have a complete tax guide at your disposal.
3. If you have your taxes done by a professional, the slowest time during the tax season is in late February and early March. That might be a good time to call for an appointment.
4. The IRS says all returns are

(Continued on p. 56.)

spotlight

Libertarian Maverick

By Susan Love Brown

The San Diego City Council is not much different from many municipal governments, with the exception that a libertarian sits in its midst. This is Fred Schnaubelt, 5th District council member. If you asked his fellow members what a libertarian is, they might tell you that it is someone who:

- seeks a grand jury investigation of the city's negotiated land-sale practices in which sales of government land are made far below their market value;
- discloses to the public the fact that proposed city/HUD low-income housing is more expensive than the most luxurious condominiums and apartments in San Diego;
- works successfully for deregulation of the city's taxicabs;
- fails to support subsidies for the poor or the rich by voting against handouts to golf courses, tennis courts, fishing, duck hunting, and sailing lessons and initiates the concept of full recovery of cost in fees for services;
- encourages COMBO, a civic organization for the arts that is already 97 percent privately funded, to operate on 100 percent private funding in the interest of artistic freedom; and
- votes against revocation of licenses for massage parlors and opposes an ordinance forbidding massage parlors to locate within a certain distance of each other.

Schnaubelt, a successful real estate broker, was elected to the San Diego City Council in 1977 after a vigorous campaign against 12-year incumbent Floyd Morrow. Since that time, *libertarian* has become a household word among San Diego reporters, council members, and the general public. Some have estimated that Schnaubelt has received more media exposure than all council members combined. He is a maverick, and mavericks get attention.

Although the city council races are nonpartisan, council members are generally known to have political affiliations. Schnaubelt is a registered Republican and has worked within that party structure since 1970. This fact, combined with his unmistakably libertarian rhetoric (followed up by his unmistakably consistent action), at first caused some confusion. Rather than the typical conservative line expected, Schnaubelt has taken a consistent position on individual liberty that is like a breath of unpolluted air.

Prior to being elected, he was in 1974 appointed as taxpayers' representative to the County Board of Welfare, where he helped secure a Department of Welfare study resulting in 120 recommendations that could save taxpayers $10-$12 million. He is one of only two council members to support California's Proposition 13 (Jarvis-Gann) *before* it was adopted by voters. Schnaubelt served as president of Taxpayers Concerned from 1972 to 1975.

As a city council member he sits on three committees, but he also finds time

Fred Schnaubelt

to address local groups and organizations. He is skilled at synthesizing libertarian arguments from various sources and putting them into a form that people can understand. He is a prolific writer, and his work has appeared frequently in special-interest publications. He is one of the most cogent speakers against rent control and other attempts to restrict housing and land use in the San Diego area.

Schnaubelt's views about government have radically changed in the two years he has been in office. "It's much worse than I thought," he says. "The cost of doing business, for the government, is very high. When you can get a truthful accounting by government of its activities, the incredible waste and misuse of taxpayers' funds becomes readily apparent. The bookkeeping disguises the real cost. Profit frequently is determined prior to debt service, and there is normally no allowance made for capital costs or depreciation."

Another problem, which Schnaubelt has talked about many times, is the system of ignorance within which decisions are made by council members—a system that economist F. A. Hayek described years ago. "We spend hours arguing about buying three trucks, because that's something we can all relate to personally. But resolutions involving millions of dollars pass without nearly as much attention," Schnaubelt says.

Schnaubelt finds politics frustrating. "It's just humanly impossible to try to find out about the various brush fires and put them out." Because of government's ability to concentrate benefits and diffuse costs, he believes that there is a clear incentive for special-interest groups to lobby for legislation that benefits them, but not enough for taxpayers to revolt each time. So he's concluded that the best means of putting out brush fires is to "concentrate on tax-cut devices."

"I have learned that change in the basic structure of government is less likely to come from within the system than outside the system by working to educate people. Politicians, with rare exceptions, are not leaders but followers, and the system really doesn't lend itself to making changes from within."

Even so, Schnaubelt believes that Proposition 13 passed because there was so much opposition on the part of most politicians. Schnaubelt supports abolition of sales taxes and Jarvis's initiative (to appear on the ballot in June 1980) to cut California income taxes by half. Limiting access to money is still the best way to limit governmental influence.

Some libertarians familiar with Schnaubelt's record have criticized him for his stand on the controversial Black's Beach issue, where he voted against a swimsuit-optional beach. "Black's Beach is public property, and so the resolution of this issue is by nature going to be contradictory. Some libertarians felt that I should have opted for an error on the side of liberty and allow the swimsuit option. But I am not convinced that liberty is better served by allowing that option or by limiting the amount of tax dollars being put into the maintenance of this public beach and supporting the

taste of the majority of the public. There are arguments in favor of both sides, and certainly good ones on the other side. But I did what I thought was right. If it had been a private beach, there is no question that I would have supported the rights of the owners to the kind of beach they desired."

That's the kind of difficult and mixed issues facing libertarians who manage to get elected. Given this, and his frustration with the governmental system, would Schnaubelt discourage libertarians from seeking change through the system? "The major advantage of political office," he says, "is to use the position and the prestige that it carries as a forum to disseminate libertarian ideas. The hope is to try and raise the consciousness of the public at large. You can do that much easier in a political office than with other activities. I have learned that you can't use your clout to affect other elected officials, but you can be very effective in persuading the public."

Susan Love Brown is a free-lance writer, formerly on the staff of the World Research Institute, filling in for regular Spotlight columnist John Lott.

arts & letters

movies

- **Kramer vs. Kramer**
- **Star Trek**
- **The Black Hole**
- **The Black Stallion**
- **The Electric Horseman**

Reviewed by John Hospers

• **KRAMER VS. KRAMER** is an honest and moving piece of filmmaking, lacking the amount of dramatic confrontation that often occurs in films about divorce but doubtless kept somewhat low-keyed to avoid any suspicion of false melodramatics; and indeed it is powerful real-life drama with no hint of soap opera. The initial situation (the wife leaving), the development (the father pursuing his career and trying to be both parents at the same time), as well as the climactic scenes, are all laid with great care and done with excellent credibility, holding one's absorbed attention throughout. There are fine comic touches, all integral to the story. At any number of points it could easily have gone off the track, but it never does.

For this achievement the principal credit goes to writer-director Robert Benton, who deserves whatever plaudits may come his way for a careful and convincing job. Dustin Hoffman has more variety in the role of the loving father than most recent parts have afforded him, and he takes more naturally to this one than to that of a hunted criminal or a marathon runner. The child, Justin Henry, evokes such sympathy and is so good in his role that he practically runs away with the picture. I have only one small cavil in the case of the other principal, the wife, played by Meryl Streep. She is one of the finest actresses around and can make a thin part rich with meaning by the nuances of feeling she brings to it. Her part here is not exactly thin, but it is hard to believe that, radiating an angelic quality as she always does (and no less sensuous for all that), she would leave a child whom she loves in order to find self-fulfillment (an offshoot of Women's Lib?). Her motives are made quite believable, yet she is cast in a somewhat unfavorable role, and the audience's sympathies extend more to the others than to her. There is thus a cleavage between the actress we see and the role she is called upon to play. But withal, this is as honest and involving an **American film as came along in the** rather meager movie year of 1979.

• There were episodes of the television series *Star Trek* that were fun to watch. The same cannot be said of the film **STAR TREK**, which is an outgrowth of the series. It is ponderous, slow-moving, and full of dead spaces. The principals are visibly older and have apparently lost their ability not to take themselves too seriously. What's left is the visual effects, which are stunning indeed and lovingly exhibited, but hardly worth the $40 million that the film is reputed to have cost.

According to advance reports, **THE BLACK HOLE** would possess some of the qualities lacking in *Star Trek*. There is quite a bit of humor in it (grade B through Z), and it is less ponderous than *Star Trek* and mercifully shorter. The characters are stereotypes, and the film is a kind of space-Western with laser beams replacing rifles. As for enlarging one's conception of the sidereal universe, it falls flat on its face. Not even light can emanate from the black holes of space, but in this film not only light but the characters themselves, biologically fragile as they are and vulnerable to a thousand accidents of space travel, emerge from the black hole smiling and intact. Perhaps the Disney team knows something the astronomers aren't telling us?

• Children will enjoy **THE BLACK STALLION**, and many adults will enjoy it even more. The story is a lovely and moving one, and the tale of a boy and his horse has never to my knowledge been more stunningly filmed.

The first half is visually about as beautiful as anything we have seen in films—horse, child, desert, ocean. The first half contains by far the best of the story, as well: a ship along the North African coast (1946), a shipwreck, the barren desert, the boy finding food for the horse deep under the water and the horse in turn saving the boy's life. Scene after scene is both moving and memorably beautiful.

Then comes civilization, the horse in a midwestern town, then on a farm (here Mickey Rooney turns in one of his most savory performances). It's all interesting enough, but nothing in it can compare with the pictorial quality or the feeling-tone of the first half. Doubtless the filmmakers suspected as much, for the picture concludes with flashbacks of the boy and the horse in the desert, plunging us back into the places where the film shone brightest. With this example before them of an "inspirational" film without undue saccharinity, the makers of quality G-rated films may have a future after all.

• The story line of **THE ELECTRIC HORSEMAN** is somewhat thin, and the theme—doing what (the hero believes) is the right thing for one particular horse—may seem not to be a sufficient reason for all the labored shenanigans the characters go through to achieve that end. The first half hour of the picture is very unprepossessing indeed. But then bit by bit one gets into it; the interrelation of the characters is smoothly if not profoundly developed; and the last half hour, amidst the deserts and mountains of Nevada and Utah, is in its own way rather touching (even Jane Fonda joining in singing "America the Beautiful").

The whole mix wouldn't work except for the leavening influence of the two principals, Jane Fonda and Robert Redford. Redford especially proves himself to be (unexpectedly, at least to me) a skilled and subtle actor, and Fonda disports herself with her usual sensitivity and intelligence; the chemistry between them is a pleasure to watch. Without the consummate job of acting by this pair, the slender story could not sustain one's interest for more than two hours.

This isn't a propaganda picture like *The China Syndrome.* Still, one must resign oneself to the thesis that all corporations are evil and those who run them are dolts and charlatans—none of which keeps Ms. Fonda from flashing before us her expensive Sony tape-recorder and fancy television cameras (perhaps Japanese corporations are not evil?) This theme is not emphasized, however, and it finally gets lost in the romantic triangle Fonda-Redford-horse. The film is somewhat reminiscent of an earlier one, also set in Nevada, *The Misfits,* written by Arthur Miller and giving us the last performances ever by its three principals (Clark Gable, Marilyn Monroe, Montgomery Clift). But *Misfits* deals with catching wild horses, while *Horseman* wants to return tame ones to the wild.

John Hospers is a professor of philosophy at the University of Southern California. His book Understanding the Arts *will be published by Prentice-Hall this year.*

books

Adventurism for Power

The Politics of War: The Story of Two Wars Which Altered Forever the Political Life of the American Republic (1890-1920).
By Walter Karp.
New York: Harper & Row. 1979. 380 pp. $15.00.

Reviewed by William Marina

We Americans tend to see ourselves as a peace-loving nation that has somehow, against our will, been drawn into international conflicts. Walter Karp believes that the key to understanding this process—how in the 20th century a republic has been transformed into an empire—lies in the structure of American politics, especially the party apparatus. His book builds upon the model that he developed in *Indispensable Enemies: The Politics of Misrule in America,* published in 1973.

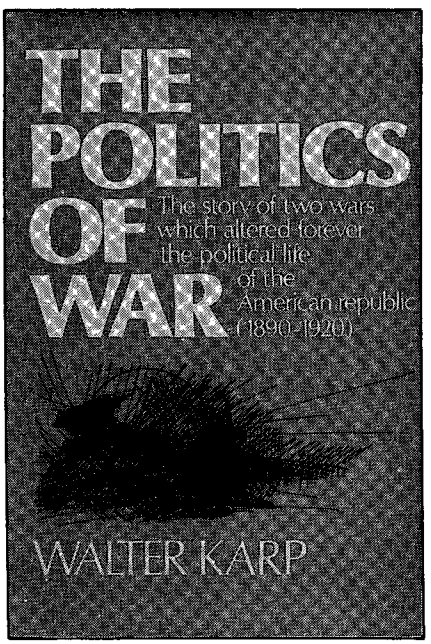
The period 1890-1920 has often been called the age of reform, but Karp sees it more fundamentally as an "age of war." It was an era in which the United States "fought two foreign wars, one against Spain, the other against Germany; fought a quasi-war in Mexico; fought a war of colonial repression in the Philippines; stood on the brink of war with Chile and Great Britain; [and] intervened with military force dozens of times in Latin America." This age of war finally gutted the reform movement. There is a relationship between domestic and foreign affairs, says Karp, even though the two are often studied almost as if they were separate and distinct.

His major theme can be put fairly succinctly. The economic crisis of the 1890s threatened the oligarchies that dominated the two, major, institutionalized parties, the Democrats and the Republicans. First, there was the threat of a third party, the People's, or Populist, Party, which challenged the party oligarchies. This was followed by assault from within both dominant parties, especially the Republican, from progressive insurgents who almost wrested control from the party bosses. Within this context, an adventurous foreign policy was the best, perhaps the only, way to smash reform and keep the essential party structures intact.

While Karp at times overdoes his thesis by attempting to make it explain more than is really necessary and is at times wrong on a few of his secondary interpretations, his general approach is superior, I believe, to current explanations of the course of American history being offered by revisionist and Marxist historians of the left. It is *must* reading for those who still see the Cold War as the fundamental problem facing this nation. The real problem is a political structure that is willing to take the risks and bear the cost of a war system rather than face real reform, which would necessitate a loss of power.

The first part of the book deals with President William McKinley's policies leading up to the Spanish-American War and the acquisition of the Philippines. Karp sees these trends developing early in the 1890s in the repudiation of the Republicans and their use of the tariff. James G. Blaine, the secretary of state, was illustrative of a new outlook demanding a larger American role in hemispheric and world affairs. In the wake of the problems growing out of the depression of '93, even Grover Cleveland turned to jingoism, getting the United States involved with Great Britain in a border dispute with Venezuela. Though Cleveland would later be an opponent of imperialism in the Philippines, a friend aptly told him that his Venezuelan interventionism made him "the father of the spirit of imperialism."

But it was McKinley who systematically pursued a policy of empire, which fitted very nicely into—indeed, was essential to—his views about centralizing the economy of the Republic and, in effect, cartelizing it. The great vehicle of interventionism was the revolution that had erupted in Cuba in 1895. While Americans were sympathetic to Cuban independence, few, apart from the jingoes in Congress, were anxious for intervention. It took until the spring of 1898 for


THE POLITICS OF WAR
The story of two wars which altered forever the political life of the American republic (1890-1920)
WALTER KARP

McKinley to prepare the nation for such a policy. Karp very ably shows the disingenuous way in which the president sought to convince the peace party that he shared their view, while pushing Spain into a corner.

There are two points upon which I would disagree with Karp. He believes the Cuban revolutionists had not been very successful in carrying out their objectives. On the contrary, it was this very success that moved McKinley to act while intervention was still seemingly feasible. Certainly, the Spanish-American war quickly became one, not of liberation, but of empire. The first American actions were in the Philippines, and the argument began to be raised that we must have both these islands and Hawaii in order to uplift the natives and stake out a claim in Asia and the China market.

Even in starting the revolution in 1895, José Martí did so mindful of Cuban

weakness, but with the realization that if this was not done, the imperial thrust of American policy that he had described as early as 1889 would in the years ahead demand annexation with the support of conservative Cubans, who feared a radical independence movement. In the case of both Cuba and the Philippines, the net result of American imperial intervention was to undercut the internal dynamics of the respective revolutions. In the long run American policy was unable to stabilize Cuba, and it remains to be seen whether aiding dictatorship will succeed in the Philippines.

Much of Karp's book deals with Woodrow Wilson and the American entrance into World War I. Here again, his overall interpretation places him squarely in the camp of historical revisionism. Wilson, with his egomania and inherent conservatism disguised as liberal reform, was the perfect ploy of the party system. Even in the Republican Party, insurgency had been co-opted by Theodore Roosevelt's domination of the Bull Moose Party.

Karp's description of Wilson's unneutral actions leading America into war, as well as the silencing of dissent, is a sad and dreary tale of deviousness and deceit. His interpretation agrees with that of Robert Nisbet in *The Twilight of Authority*, that the crucial period in the rise of the American welfare-warfare state was our entry into the European war.

From the standpoint of politicians, the war offered a little something for everyone. First, it halted the movement for reform and insurgency within the dominant two-party system. The burgeoning size of government meant jobs and power for intellectuals, contracts for business, and even some goodies to trickle down to the mass of people. Finally, for Wilson it offered the fulfillment of his dream: the great war leader bringing world peace.

But men like Randolph Bourne and William Borah saw reality and the future with greater clarity. War was the health of the State, and the Wilsonian effort to stop social change around the world would bring, not peace, but even more violent revolution.

Karp's new volume is an excellent introduction to the internal dynamics of the party system of the American State and the way in which this is integral to understanding the growth of the American empire and its undercutting of reform. No one saw this process better than the anti-imperialist Charles Francis Adams, one of those grandsons of John Quincy Adams who as early as 1821 had feared this direction. In 1900 Adams wrote to a friend that the danger to "republican principles" was not fundamentally out there: "You see it externally in the Philippines; I see it internally in New York City and Pennsylvania—in Croker and Quay and Platt. . . . We cant about imperialism, and look for the 'man-on-horseback,' and all that nonsense. Our Emperor is here now in embryo; even [though] we don't recognize him, and we scornfully call him a 'boss.' Just exactly as in Rome before the Caesars systematized [matters], a succession of Tweeds, and Crokers, and Quays had their day."

In the light of history—and concepts such as the Swiss sociologist Roberto Michels's "iron law of oligarchy" in the development of political parties, even in their infancy and before they get anywhere near power—it will be interesting to see if the kind of bossism and oligarchy described by Karp becomes evident in the fledgling Libertarian Party.

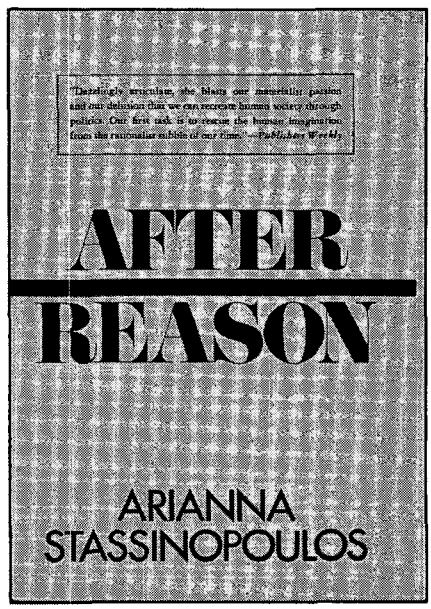
Bill Marina teaches business and history at Florida Atlantic University.

Anticollectivist Friend, Antimarket Foe

After Reason.
By Arianna Stassinopoulos.
New York: Stein and Day. 1978.
240 pp. $10.

Reviewed by Christie Davies

Arianna Stassinopoulos is at once one of libertarianism's greatest allies and one of its most subtle enemies. Her latest book, *After Reason*, is an all-out attack on the world's rival collectivist establishment,



from the brutal Marxists of the Soviet Union to the "welfare totalitarians" of Sweden or Britain, to the left-liberals of the United States. She is clear that the various collectivist enemies are not equally evil, but she also demonstrates the threat to individual liberty that they all share.

Stassinopoulos sees clearly that the enormous expansion in State welfare provision in most Western countries poses a grave threat to individual freedom. She notes that studies of relative public expenditure levels in the communist and the capitalist worlds reveal that, "when allowances are made for different economic levels, the countries are indistinguishable in their expenditure on health and welfare, converging in their expenditure on education and differing only to the extent that the capitalist countries spend more on traffic control and the Communist ones significantly more on police and internal security."

This last difference is, of course, a major indication of the tyrannical nature of the communist system, but we in the West have no reason to feel complacent. Stassinopoulos reminds us that

> *social security having been turned into an indispensable component of the individual personality, has become a channel of subliminal manipulation and the welfare state has paved the way to the new totalitarianism which unlike the old-fashioned variety, that rather messily depended on force, relies instead on willing submission in return for comfort, security and technological perfection. . . . the opposition can be disarmed gently and effortlessly and the elected leaders assured the supreme blessings denied to the despots of the Kremlin: compliant citizenship and an all powerful unopposed bureaucratic establishment.*

Stassinopoulos's general argument will be familiar to many. What may well be more surprising and shocking is the degree to which the subservience of the individual to the State is now taken for granted in Britain or Scandinavia. Here in Europe, people are no longer indignant or amazed that Olaf Palme, the former Swedish social-democratic prime minister, can tell Sweden's school children: "You don't go to school to achieve anything personally but to learn how to function as members of a group." Stassinopoulos would claim, however, that the attitudes of American collectivists are not far behind those of their European counterparts. Indeed, Dr. Lawrence Kolb, recently appointed head of New York State's Mental Hygiene Services, seems to be way in front. He is quoted by Stassinopoulos as having praised Soviet psychiatry for "the facility with which

effective decisions and actions are made in regard to the economic, social, legal and vocational life of the patient."

Nonetheless, Kolb is not a representative figure in America in the way that **Olaf Palme is typical of European leaders.** In the United States, Kolb will be opposed by an important and prestigious body of liberty-minded intellectuals and politicians. A country like Sweden lacks this kind of countervailing power and criticism, and the libertarian minority finds it much more difficult to gain a platform for its views or to exert any real political influence.

Stassinopoulos is to be congratulated on her able and thoroughly documented attack on collectivism. For the foreseeable future, Arianna Stassinopoulos will be an essential ally of libertarians. Yet ironically, if and when the struggle against the collectivists is won, she will emerge as a subtle and dangerous opponent, a kind of Greek Orthodox Solzhenitsyn.

Like Solzhenitsyn, she distrusts reason and dislikes the utilitarian materialism of the West. This leads her to be very critical of such free-market economists as Ludwig von Mises or Friedrich Hayek, who are wrong, she declares, "in investing economic principles with a primary value they simply do not possess." She quotes from von Mises's work *Omnipotent Government:*

> *The essential teaching of liberalism is that social co-operation and the division of labour can be achieved only in a system of private ownership of the means of production, i.e. within a market society or capitalism. All the other purposes of liberalism—democracy, personal freedom of the individual, freedom of speech and of the press, religious tolerance, peace among the nations—are consequences of this basic postulate. They can be realised only within a society based on private property.*

Stassinopoulos attacks von Mises's position vehemently:

> *Can there be a greater manifestation of the greatest modern heresy—that the trees move the wind? And nothing will be reformed and nothing saved unless we abandon the heresy that the material circumstances create the spiritual ones and realise again that the spiritual fact comes first.*

Arianna Stassinopoulos's book is an important one for libertarians for two opposite reasons. It contains both the arguments that we need to use today and the arguments that we will need to combat tomorrow.

Christie Davies is a senior lecturer in sociology at the University of Reading.

Language And Porky Pig

Less Than Words Can Say.
By Richard Mitchell.
Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
1979. 224 pp. $8.95.

Reviewed by William Uzzle

The relationship between clear writing and sound thinking seems elementary to most people who traffic in words, but it requires great talent to argue the matter convincingly. In a very important and funny book, Richard Mitchell does it superbly. At the same time, he delivers a devastating indictment of American education.

An English professor at Glassboro State College in New Jersey, Mitchell has already gained some celebrity as publisher of the *Underground Grammarian.* Nine times a year in this broadsheet, he joyously savages specimens of fraudulent or inept English, particularly the pronouncements of those who, in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, continue to be perceived as educators.

In *Less Than Words Can Say,* he broadens his attack, showing how the vacuous language of pedagogues is consistent with their professional ineptness. He also suggests that it reflects a conscious devotion to failure, pleasing to the "great masters of social manipulation."

Since people not skilled in language have no means for thinking to any serious purpose, they will generally think and do as they are told. Should the masses forsake the unexamined life, large numbers of well-established jobholders would find themselves out of work. Severely critical of black English, basic English, and minimum "competency" testing, Mitchell sees them as devices for keeping the slaves on the plantation.

Consider, he asks, what would happen if next spring there should debouch from American high schools a million black graduates fluent in English: "You think *they're* going to buy those lottery tickets and lamps in the shape of Porky Pig? You think they're going to hang out on the corners and provide employment for everybody from the local social worker to the justices of the Supreme Court?"

Mitchell is aware of the limits of education. There will always be a market for lottery tickets, and Porky Pig lamps will fetch householders yet unborn. But the schools are shortchanging everyone, regardless of intellectual potential—or color: "Next June won't even saddle us with a million *white* high school graduates who are fluent in English."

It is school administrators and teachers who guard against such a contingency. Mitchell describes most of them as people who "drifted into teaching because of a disquieting and usually well-founded suspicion that their talents would not permit them to find much success as accountants and insurance adjusters."

He, therefore, doesn't revel in optimism. How can a system overstocked with bad teachers produce more than a pittance of good ones? And when the good ones awaken to the situation, why should they remain in a world circumscribed by illogic and animated by jargon? If they do, they must live as "strangers in a strange land where the natives speak no rational language at all."

Readers convinced of the bankruptcy of public education may wonder why *Less Than Words Can Say* doesn't call for an end to compulsory schooling or at least the implementation of something like a voucher system. But if Mitchell favors a radical solution, he is wise not to recommend it here. His tone throughout is that of a man both angry and amused at educational imbecility, and his implied conclusion could be interpreted as something like this: "I dislike this nonsense immensely. On the other hand, I can have a lot of fun ridiculing it and even make money writing books about it. You other taxpayers have no compensation whatever."

Such an attitude on the part of so powerful a critic leaves the reader holding a very undesirable bag and may do more to undermine the present educa-

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tional apparatus than the most trenchant prescription for change. By maintaining his sense of humor, and refusing to become an advocate, Mitchell may become a highly effective scourge.

William Uzzle is a former college English teacher who has turned to journalism.

Laughing at Bureaucracy

Rudebarbs.
By Randall Hylkema.
New York: Books in Focus. 1979. 90 pp. $4.95 (paper).

Reviewed by James Buchanan

This small volume is a collection of Hylkema cartoons that have been published in REASON over the past several years. As those who recall these cartoons will recognize, Hylkema exhibits an acute critical understanding of the vulnerabilities of modern governmental bureaucracy. His pin-headed, gimlet-eyed characters, along with his uninhibited script, bring the crass stupidity home directly to any of us who must have encountered the bureaucracy in any of its forms.

We know very little about how ideas are transmitted and how attitudes are finally changed. It seems to be a good bet, however, that cartoons of the Hylkema variety will "get to" some persons who might otherwise remain forever immune to closely reasoned argument. If this hunch is correct, we need more such effort, not only in magazines as complements to reasoned analysis but also in the elementary textbooks of our high schools, colleges, and universities. And Hylkema is especially refreshing in that he balances, in some small part, the soft-left establishment biases exhibited by so many of the nation's cartoonists, most of whom, presumably, absorb the ordinary biases of the American mass media outlets.

With all this, it is sad to report that Hylkema encountered a bit of bureaucratic bungling in the nongovernmental, private-market sector in the publication of his small book. In the review copy that was sent to me, pages 49 through 64 were missing and their places taken by duplicates of pages 65 through 80. In a 90-page book, this is a blunder of major proportions. Happily, I was, upon noting this, immediately sent another review copy that did not repeat the error. It is to be hoped that the problem is not widespread with Hylkema's fine little book.

James Buchanan is university distinguished professor and general director of the Center for Study of Public Choice at Virginia Polytechnic University. His office at the university is decorated with the plates from many past Rudebarbs.

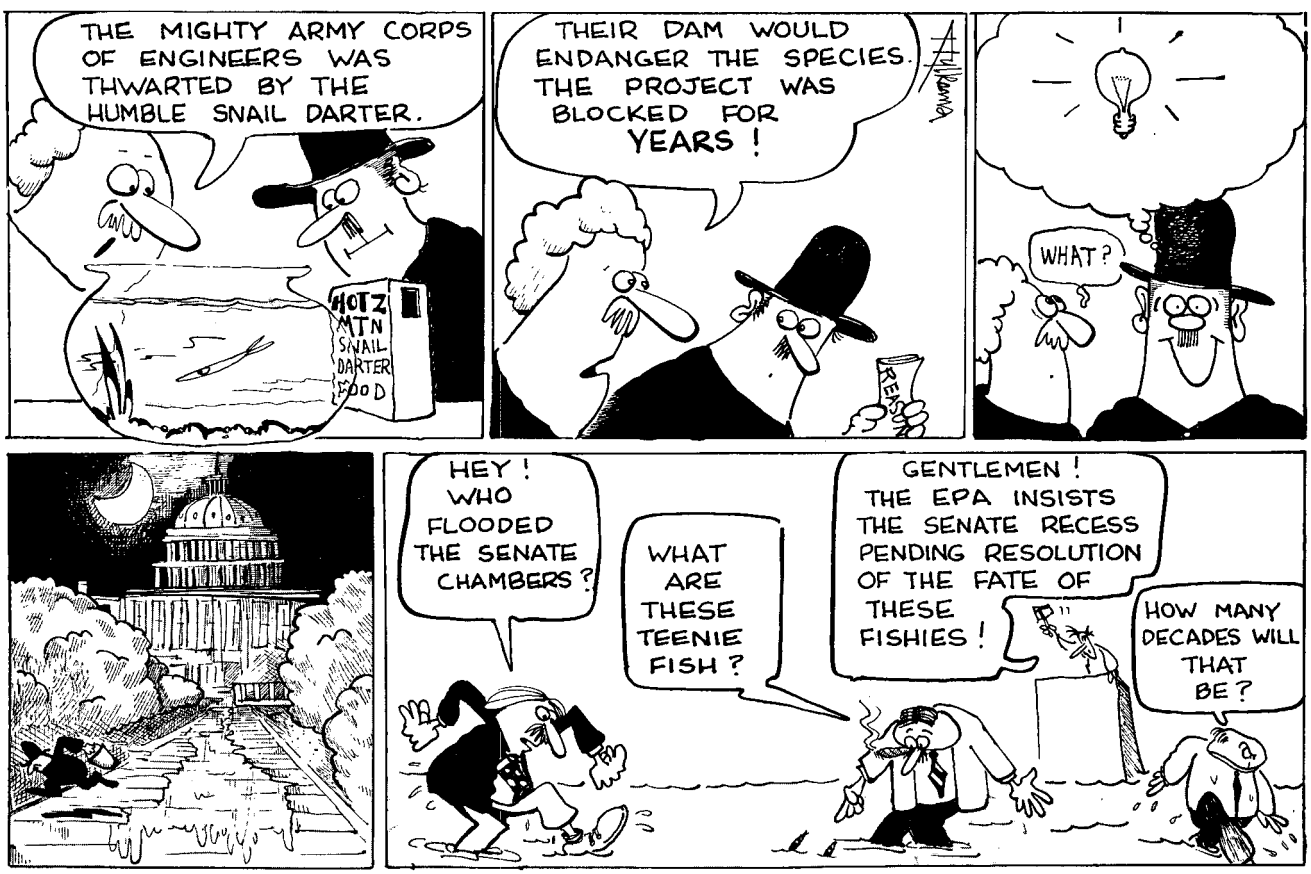
Tarnished Satire

Good as Gold.
By Joseph Heller.
New York: Simon and Schuster. 1979. 447 pp. $12.95.

Reviewed by Paul T. Hornak

In *Good as Gold*, a White House assistant tells an office-hunter: "The President doesn't want yes-men. What we want are independent men of integrity

rudebarbs by Randall K. Hylkema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HOW MANY DECADES WILL THAT BE ?

who will agree with all our decisions after we make them. You'll be entirely on your own." Bruce Gold, a restless professor of English, skates through the term by assigning his students elaborately useless projects. His teenage daughter swears like a waterfront wench. His brother, Sid, cherishes memories of adultery in Acapulco. The magazine editor who prints provocative, insubstantial essays pushes his fatuous autobiography on publisher friends. Gold sleeps with Andrea, daughter of a rich Protestant, while fretting that his book on "the Jewish experience" won't gel. Washington says he can be secretary of state because he favorably reviewed the president's political memoirs.

If the book sounds rather close to fact to score as satire, there is a reason. Joseph Heller's novel is too tame. It evokes no sense of the extreme. Far from exaggerations, his characters are the people all around us, his plot straight from the papers. Heller plays the wise guy, thinking flashy intellect and barbed jokes will cut deep, like in *Catch 22*. But he is fighting an entirely different enemy in an arena of laxity.

In rigid surroundings, satire thrives. Army men, bound by regulations and rank, say "Yes, sir," march in formation, and salute. Solid penalties confront rebels. The targets are clear, and satire strikes hard. Yossarian sits in a tree naked for roll call with unmistakable effect. He shocks the military with values that challenge theirs. But wishy-washy civilians in our day change values like old clothes and join exotic cliques that have no common ground. To them, Yossarian is a cultist, a nature freak, a "cra-a-zy guy," not an affront. Civilians say live-and-let-live, demand little.

The climate favors eccentrics—the nation is full of them—but is hell on satire. Satire employs nonsense to uphold values forgotten or denied by the established order. When the order doesn't care about values, satire can't hurt. *Good as Gold* fires weak wisecracks at weak values, expecting to offend where, in fact, anything goes.

Any number of lines illustrate the difficulty. In the ones that follow, Joannie Gold answers her brother's question: "If you want to know what my Jewish experience is, I can tell you. It's trying not to be. We play golf now, get drunk, take tennis lessons, and have divorces, just like normal Christian Americans. We talk dirty. We screw around, commit adultery."

If drunkenness and divorce mattered any more, if people balked at equating them with golf and tennis, if lapsed Jews felt genuine shame, the lines would sting. But there are as many arguments for as against what used to be called sin. Instead of contempt, the lines convey ambiguity. No one can tell whether Joannie is sorry, spiteful, offended, or something else entirely.

The lack of common ground—of what Prof. John Phelan of Fordham refers to as "cultural arbitration"—nullifies satire. When every point is debatable, every standard a personal standard, writers cannot meet the definition. Vices, follies, stupidities, abuses—all the traditional targets of the genre—are meaningless.

After punching values of jelly for 300 losing pages, Heller finally throws up his hands. He sets down a statement of disgust that sounds like an admission of failure: he simply can't find a solid center to modern politics and love. "Once again Gold found himself preparing to lunch with someone," the third-person paragraph begins, and then switches in midsentence: "and the thought arose that he was spending an awful lot of time in this book eating and talking. There was not much else to be done with him."

In two dissonant lines Heller writes off his efforts so far. A waste, he says, longing for just one pig-headed regulation. "I *was* putting him into bed a lot with Andrea and keeping his wife and children conveniently in the background. For Acapulco, I contemplated fabricating a hectic mixup which would include a sensual Mexican television actress and a

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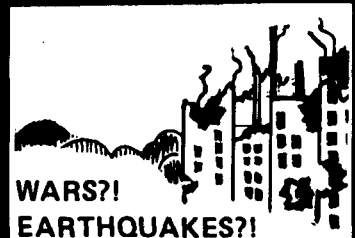
daring attempt to escape in the nude through a stuck second-story bedroom window, while a jealous lover crazed on American drugs was beating down the door with his fists and Belle or packs of barking wild dogs were waiting below. Certainly he would soon meet a schoolteacher with four children with whom he would fall madly in love." What he *was* making was lots of anachronistic satire. Trouble is, people aren't shocked by adultery—real-life or hyped satirical—any more. They let their values hang loose. They shun norms. Live-and-let-live. More Andrea and Gold in bed would only add pages.

The White House never makes Gold secretary of state. He loses interest in politics about the time he deserts Andrea. Home and family again draw him in, and Jewish tradition takes hold of his life. The event that works the magic—Heller treats Gold's retrenchment as mystical—is the death of Sid. For Heller's valueless characters, grief is the sole rallying point. A pack of errant Jews suddenly sits shivah.

This, finally, is satire of a sort. Instead of distorting things people do in life, Heller distorts things they would never do. Death reforms whole families. An expired adulterer revalidates the Torah. Jews without faith, trying like Joannie "not to be," would sooner swallow pop thanatology (like "Christian Americans"): death the ultimate "life experience"; the dead envied; sadness passé. The problem persists. When the target denies the weapon, satire can't score.

Paul Hornak is a newspaperman living in the Middle East.



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taxes

(Continued from p. 48.)

processed the same—and scrutinized the same—whether they come in during January or on April 15. Common sense would tell us, however, that any return would have a better chance of slipping by with a more cursory examination during the big April 15 rush. Many taxpayers have a "why-take-a-chance" attitude and send in their returns on April 14 or 15 no matter what. Every little bit helps, seems to be their attitude.

Finally, as you do your taxes, reflect on the fact that Americans today pay more taxes on the average than medieval serfs. Wonder to yourself why that should be and how we came to such a pass. After all, we're a country founded upon a revolution against various forms of taxation. But today....Well, the question often occurs to me: How did they ever get away with it?

Tim Condon is a tax lawyer currently practicing in Florida.

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On Traditional Investments

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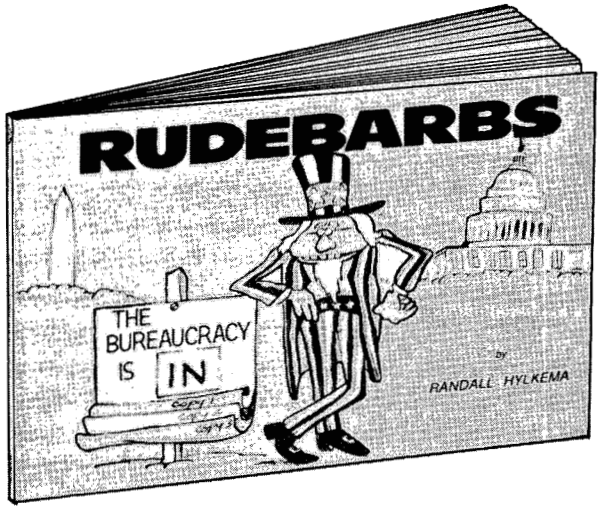

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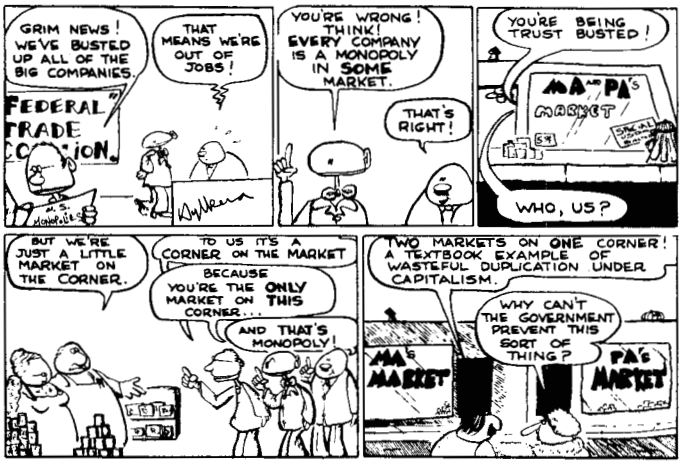
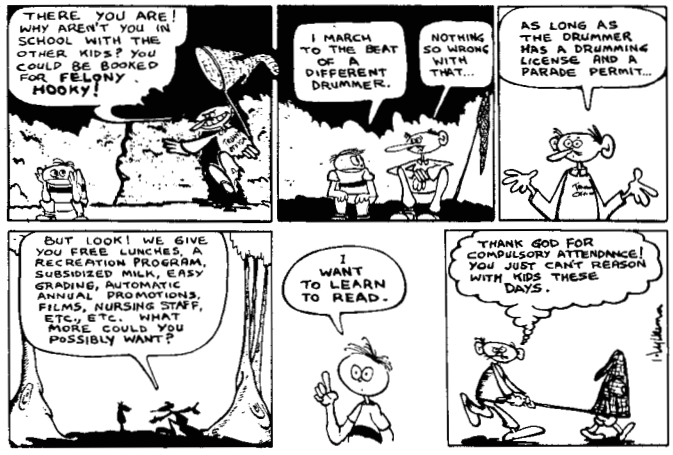

GRIM NEWS! WE'VE BUSTED UP ALL OF THE BIG COMPANIES.
THAT MEANS WE'RE OUT OF JOBS!
FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION
YOU'RE WRONG! THINK! EVERY COMPANY IS A MONOPOLY IN SOME MARKET.
THAT'S RIGHT!
YOU'RE BEING TRUST BUSTED!
MA 'n PA'S MARKET
WHO, US?
BUT WE'RE JUST A LITTLE MARKET ON THE CORNER.
TO US IT'S A CORNER ON THE MARKET
BECAUSE YOU'RE THE ONLY MARKET ON THIS CORNER...
AND THAT'S MONOPOLY!
TWO MARKETS ON ONE CORNER! A TEXTBOOK EXAMPLE OF WASTEFUL DUPLICATION UNDER CAPITALISM.
WHY CAN'T THE GOVERNMENT PREVENT THIS SORT OF THING?
MA'S MARKET
PA'S MARKET


THERE YOU ARE! WHY AREN'T YOU IN SCHOOL WITH THE OTHER KIDS? YOU COULD BE BOOKED FOR FELONY. HOOKY!
I MARCH TO THE BEAT OF A DIFFERENT DRUMMER.
NOTHING SO WRONG WITH THAT...
AS LONG AS THE DRUMMER HAS A DRUMMING LICENSE AND A PARADE PERMIT...
BUT LOOK! WE GIVE YOU FREE LUNCHES, A RECREATION PROGRAM, SUBSIDIZED MILK, EASY GRADING, AUTOMATIC ANNUAL PROMOTIONS, FILMS, NURSING STAFF, ETC., ETC. WHAT MORE COULD YOU POSSIBLY WANT?
I WANT TO LEARN TO READ.
THANK GOD FOR COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE! YOU JUST CAN'T REASON WITH KIDS THESE DAYS.

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